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REPORTS TO THE GENERAL DIRECTOR

II

The Monuments of Sudanese Nubia

REPORT OF THE WORK OF
THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
SEASON OF 1906-'07

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BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

DIRECTOR

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Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago

SECOND PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED
The University of Chicago

I. INTRODUCTION

The work of the Egyptian Expedition during its first season (1905–6) had included a complete paleographic survey of the monuments of Lower Nubia from the foot of the second cataract at Halfa to the Ptolemaic temples just above the first cataract, not inclusive of the latter. In order to complete such a survey of all the monuments of Nubia, it was now necessary to extend the work of the expedition for the next season (1906–7) through the second cataract and above it to the southernmost monuments in the Nile valley, that is, from the vicinity of Khartûm to the foot of the second cataract. In this stretch of the Nile northward from Khartûm, the river describes a huge double curve of nearly a thousand miles, forming a vast S, which includes five of the six cataract regions, and comprises nearly all of the cataract country (see Map, Fig. 1). In the absorption of the Upper Nile, a process which began in the twenty-fifth century B. C., the Pharaoh's power never extended

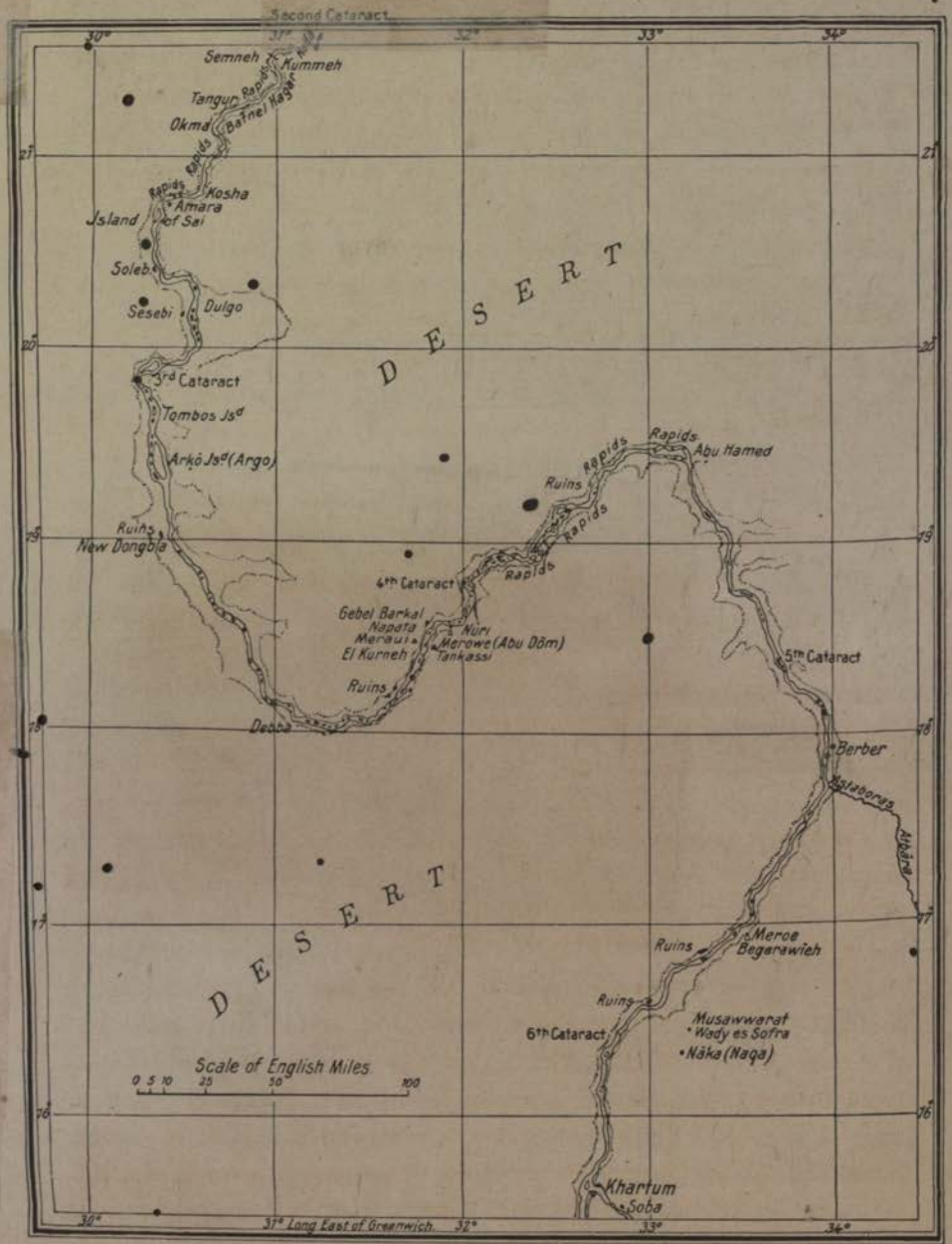


FIG. 1.—Map of the Cataract Region of the Nile, from Khartûm to the Second Cataract (after the Atlas of the Egypt Exploration Fund). The Sudan Railroad cuts across the desert from Halfa [Second Cataract] to Abu Hamed, and then follows the east bank of the Nile to Khartûm. The territory covered by this last campaign of the expedition extends along the river from Naga on the south to the region north of Kummeh and Semneh on the north.

above the fourth cataract, and his final frontier was always the land of Karoy, the country around Napata at the foot of the fourth cataract.[1] Our original plan involved no more than the completion of the monuments within this Pharaonic viceroyalty of Nubia; that is, we did not expect to proceed up the river beyond the Pharaonic frontier at the foot of the fourth cataract. The later independent Nubian kingdom has, however, left important hybrid Egyptian monuments much farther south at the classical Meroe, and at other points still farther up the river, and we finally decided to include these also in at least a rapid visit. The addition of these later Nubian sites made up a heavy winter's work, but in view of the fact that no epigraphic work had been done in the country since the Prussian expedition in 1844, we determined to attempt it. The time at our disposal for these upper sites, however, would necessarily be very limited, as we should be obliged to return in time to pass the cataracts before the fall of the high water, which would have already begun to recede before our arrival in the south.

In making our preparations for the entire trip the Sudan government assisted us in every possible direction. I may say that the trip would have been quite impossible, if we had not enjoyed such help. Sir Reginald Wingate, sirdar and governor-general of the Sudan, showed the most cordial interest in our project, and during his autumn visit in Cairo I was privileged to discuss our plans with him in a delightful interview, in which I learned to know for the first time his great solicitude for the preservation of the ancient monuments in the Sudan, as well as his surprisingly wide and detailed knowledge of them and of the early history of the once afflicted land, which he is now so successfully lifting from anarchy and desolation to prosperity and happiness. Among other things Sir Reginald wrote to all the British governors of the Sudan provinces in which we were to work, requesting them to assist us as far as possible, and this thoughtful measure proved

[1] This is distinctly stated on the scarabs of Amenhotep III. The situation of Karoy, as the region about Napata is determined by the data in the tomb of Hui (see my *Ancient Records*, II, §§862 and 1020). There cannot be the slightest doubt that the statuettes of Amenhotep II found by Lepsius at Naga north of Khartûm (see Map, Fig. 1) were later carried thither.

invaluable. It is a privilege to express to him here a sense of our great indebtedness for the unstinted interest and assistance we enjoyed at his hands. To Captain Parker, head of the Intelligence Department of the Sudan in Cairo, the expedition owes great obligation for attention to many preliminary arrangements necessary before we could leave Cairo.

After ten days' work in Cairo, spent in repacking and distributing supplies, they were dispatched to four points along the upper river, where we could pick them up at the proper intervals as needed. On October 20 we left Cairo for Aswan, where we picked up the equipment of last year. The expedition this season enjoyed the experienced services of Mr. N. De G. Davies; with him, the photographer, two native assistants, besides the cook and camp servants, the present writer left Aswan by government post steamer for Halfa on October 24 where we arrived three days later. At the Halfa terminus of Kitchener's famous military railway to Khartûm, we had the good fortune to find an American traffic-manager who had lived in Chicago under the shadow of our university halls. He made it possible for us to take with us in the regular passenger train at baggage rates our thirty boxes of supplies and equipment for the southernmost portion of our trip. Leaving Halfa two hours after our arrival, on the evening of the twenty-seventh, the morning of the twenty-eighth found us approaching the Nile again, having during the night, crossed two hundred and thirty miles of desert, and cut off the great bend of the Nile, the upper loop of the S (measuring some six hundred miles) around which we should follow the river on our return. A glance at the map will show that the railway from Abu Hamed on, may hug the river all the way to the terminus on the Blue Nile opposite Khartûm. On the evening of October 28 our numerous impedimenta were hastily thrown from the train at the little wayside station of Kabushia. As the train pulled out and moved away across the desert, we were left to the silence of the night, and dreams of the ancient capital of Nubia, the mysterious Meroe of the Greeks, the pyramids of which we had descried from the train as we passed, and which, indeed, we could still discern rising dimly on the northern horizon as the night fell.

II. MEROE

We camped beside the little station, having first sent to the neighboring village for camels, whose groaning and complaining awoke us the next morning before dawn. With our stuff loaded upon fourteen camels we had made the two hours' march to the main group of pyramids by ten o'clock, and before night we were snugly stowed away in the small chapels of the pyramids where we lived for two weeks. It is impossible within the limits here necessary, nor does it fall within the purposes of this report, to describe in detail the imposing monuments still surviving at ancient Meroe. The ruins of the city still lie unexcavated, extending for a mile along the river and for nearly a mile inland at the modern village of Begerawiyeh. Here are the remains of three structures, probably temples, of which little more than the ground plan survives. Southeast of the town is a low mound marked on Cailliaud's map[2] as "restes d'un monument." Cailliaud thought it the remains of a pyramid, but it was clearly a peripteral structure, probably a temple, and reminding one of the similar peripteral building at Musawwarat. I found remains of columns on the north and south sides. The building was oriented with front to the east, approached by a ramp leading to the door, and the whole was surrounded by an inclosure wall of burnt brick, now scarcely showing above the present surface. I mention this building especially as it is not described by Lepsius. It would repay excavation, as of course would the entire site of the ancient city. The great necropolis of the city lay in the desert to the eastward about an hour from the river, but a smaller cemetery lies southeast of the town but fifteen minutes' walk distant, and about ten minutes' walk eastward of the peripteral temple above mentioned. This smaller group of pyramids we called the "west group," while the two parts into which the greater cemetery falls were designated as the "middle" and "east groups" respectively. These were the royal cemeteries. That of the people lay in the desert on the north of the middle and east groups, and has apparently received no attention since the hurried visit of Lepsius as he was leaving Meroe in 1844. The tombs of the people are marked simply by mounds,

[2] *Voyage à Meroé*, planche II, 150.

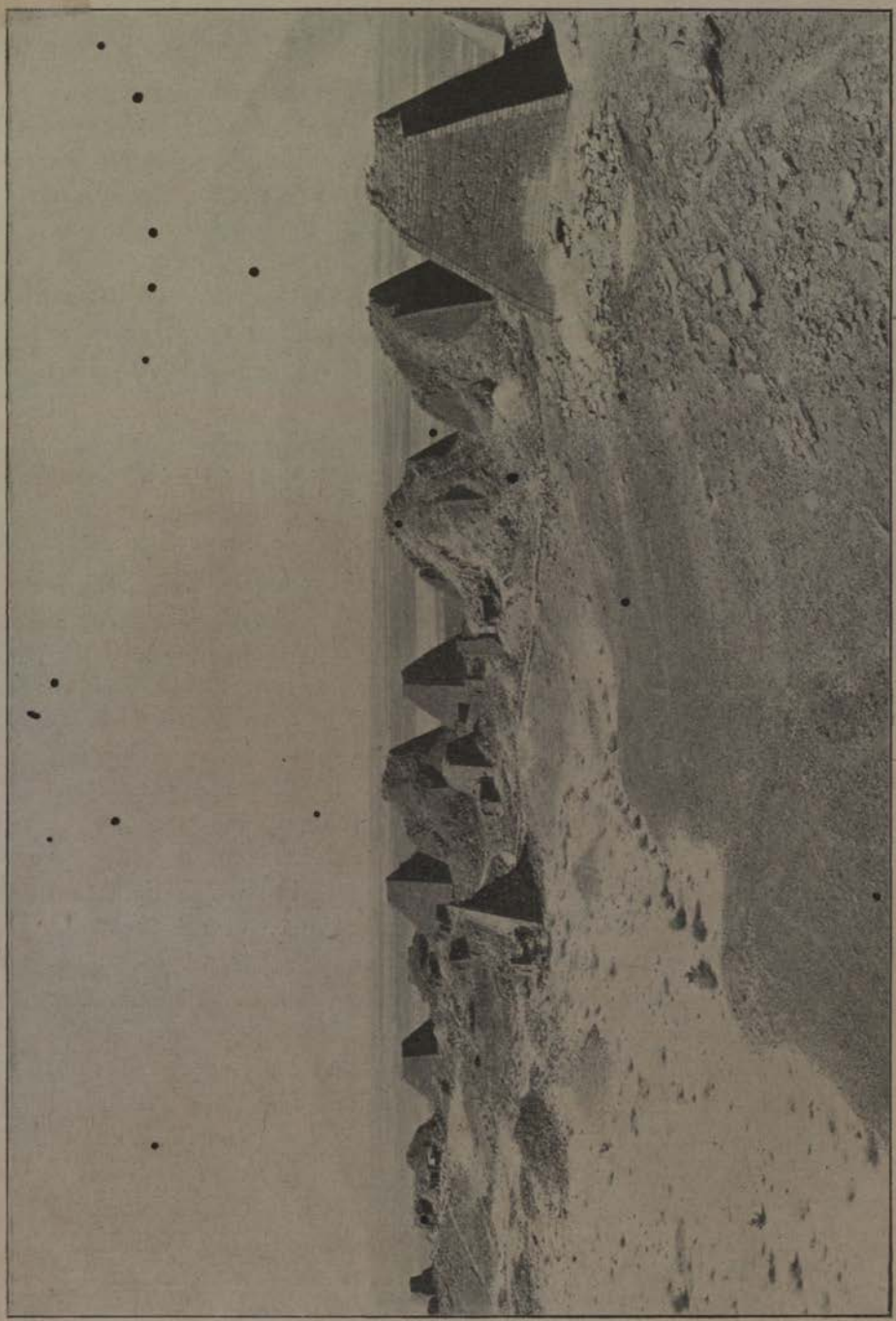


FIG. 2.—Middle Group of Pyramids at Meroe. Looking southwest from the summit of one at the northeast.

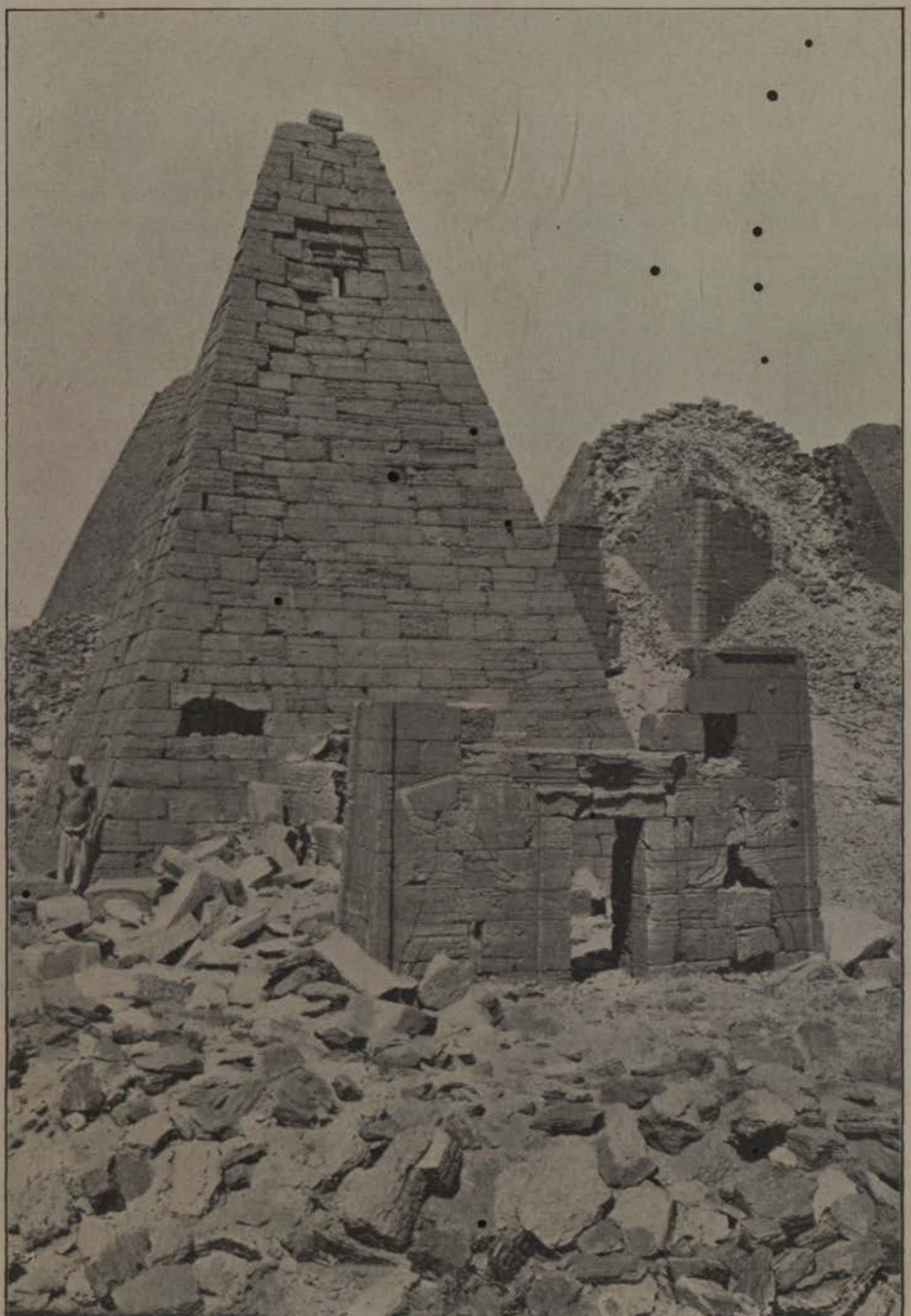


FIG. 3.—East Front of Pyramid at Meroe. Showing window at top, behind which was chamber.

which we had no authorization to excavate, so that I can report nothing of their internal construction. Those of the royalty were pyramids of masonry, built with a much sharper slope than in Egypt, and far smaller in size (Fig. 3). In the majority of cases the burial seems to have been in a chamber in the rock beneath the pyramid, approached by a shaft or an inclined passage from the east. Before the pyramid on the east[3] side is a small rec-

FIG. 4.—Meroe, Middle Group, North End of Main Line of Pyramids. Showing chapels buried under rubbish and casing blocks.

tangular chapel usually of a single chamber, backed by the pyramid, fronted by a pylon and containing mortuary reliefs and inscriptions (Fig. 5). In at least seven of the pyramids of the middle group there was near the apex enveloped in the masonry, another chamber without means of access. To the dead, however, it was accessible through a false window or door in the east front

[3]The Nubian pyramids are oriented to face southeast or south of east, but there is no accuracy or regularity in the matter.

FIG. 5.—Reliefs on North Wall of Chapel of Southernmost Pyramid in Middle Group at Meroe.

of the pyramid, at a point exactly opposite the chamber thus hidden in the masonry. This false door, called by Cailliaud "une espèce de fausse lucarne" or dormer-window, is of course the Egyptian false door, so often found as the mortuary entrance in mastaba masonry, or the cliff tombs. In Cailliaud's day there were seven of these false windows still preserved,[4] but at present only one survives (see Fig. 3). Behind it the hollow of the chamber is still pretty evident. It has been necessary to go into these details, in a matter which does not concern our epigraphic work, because it has been lately stated that Ferlini, the Italian physician, who excavated at these pyramids in 1834, could not possibly have found his splendid treasure of Ethiopic jewelry in a chamber at the top of the pyramid. It is further stated that "in the upper portion of no other pyramid in the Sudan up to the present has any chamber been found."[5] There can be no doubt that Ferlini found the treasure now in Munich and Berlin, in a chamber at the top of the pyramid as he narrates the discovery.

The chief purpose of our visit, however, was not an investigation of these problems, but to make an epigraphic record of inscribed monuments at Meroe as complete as possible. In this work there was more than enough to be done. The west group which lies on the plain near the town as we have said, is probably the oldest of the three groups. Cailliaud found twenty pyramids there in sufficient preservation to be measured and planned, while the low mounds marking the remains of seventy-five more smaller ones surrounded the group. The only inscriptions, however, as everywhere else among the Nubian pyramids, are in the chapels, and as nearly all the chapels of the west group have disappeared, we found but little to be recorded there. The middle group and the east group are situated on the first ridges of the eastern desert highland in two imposing clusters, separated by a valley which runs up the east side of the middle group and winds away northeastward. These hills are of the black stone of the region, commonly called "iron-stone," which, indeed, looks precisely like the slag from a large blast furnace. Owing to its blackness it absorbs the radiant heat of the sun, and becomes so hot, that at noonday

[4] *Voyage à Meroé*, Pl. 37.

[5] Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, I, 296.

in early November we found work among it all but impossible. It made trouble with instruments, producing such heat that the bubble in the level on one's camera disappeared, I suppose owing to the expansion of the liquid in the glass tube. It was impossible to level a camera for several hours near midday. Cailliaud was able to measure twenty-two pyramids in the middle group, and to determine the situation of sixteen more. In an examination of this site the day after our arrival, I could place only thirty-three with certainty, but there were masses of rubbish and débris on the eastern slope where a number of others might have stood. This is the most important group at Meroe, and had not the knowledge of hieroglyphics on the part of the builders here so declined as to make most of the inscriptions now on the spot very obscure or completely unintelligible, it might have been possible to reconstruct a rough historical outline of the growth of the cemetery and the succession of the kings. Incidentally it should be added that the cursive and other Meroitic inscriptions removed from here by Lepsius, will now, in the course of a few years, become readable as a result of the recent discovery of papyrus fragments of the Nubian New Testament, the first specimens of such literature yet discovered. When these aids are available we shall be able to gain much of the history of the vanished empire of which these pyramids are the most considerable surviving remains. While we could observe here and there structural evidences of a long history, like the erection of a pyramid partially covering the still discernible base of an older pyramid, or reused blocks with the sculpture up-side-down, too many of the chapels had been removed or had totally perished, or what remained was in too bad a state of preservation to furnish a basis for any historical reconstruction of the group. Even where the inscriptions are well preserved, a rare circumstance, they are more often than not quite too corrupt to be intelligible. Long study and application will secure something from some of them, but such study of our copies has not yet been possible. It should be noted, however, that one circumstance points to the greater age of the pyramids at the south end of this group. The latter all contain plentiful hieroglyphic inscriptions scattered among the figures of the reliefs, whereas in the main line

(western row) of this group, the last four pyramids (Fig. 4) and possibly the fifth (but its chapel is deeply buried) exhibit the usual panels for the lines of hieroglyphics, which have, however, never been inserted. This can only indicate a later period when knowledge of hieroglyphic had about disappeared. The panels were prepared, but no one could be found to fill them.

It was unfortunately impossible to carry out the methods of record developed during our first season's work. The heat was so great as to make development of negatives on a large scale quite impossible; nor was our excellent portable dark room, which we set up beside one of the chapels, large enough to permit of such work on the scale demanded by such a great quantity of work. We were obliged to suspend our otherwise unvarying rule of developing, and, if possible, of the use of a print on the spot, until we could reach our boat. More than ordinarily important things, and especially difficult and doubtful exposures, were developed before we left, and done again if not satisfactory, but it was impossible to furnish prints and to collate them with the original walls as we did on our first campaign. We adopted the plan of copying all inscriptions by hand, while depending chiefly on the photograph for the reliefs, and for paleographic accuracy. The long narrow chapels, not wide enough to give the camera sufficient distance from the wall to focus, caused much difficulty and delay in this work. The corrupt character of the texts, and the bad state of preservation also made the work of hand copying likewise slow and laborious in the extreme. A record of a number of the fallen and dismantled chapels was furthermore made impossible, by the fact that as the inscribed blocks lay scattered about upon the ground, the rubbish from Budge's excavations had been thrown over them, making it out of the question for us to attempt to rebuild or reconstruct such chapels, in order to piece together the reliefs and inscriptions which they still bear. Many of them deeply buried under excavator's rubbish were hopelessly inaccessible. Furthermore, the shifting of scattered blocks in the course of these excavations, and of the "road-making" carried on at the same time, had resulted in intermixture of the sculptured blocks from different chapels, till we found it next to impossible to sift

them out again. Such chapels will probably never be recorded in full.

The large pyramid at the northern end of the main row (middle group) has discharged a huge and dangerous mass of core masonry, rubbish and heavy blocks eastward over the entire chapel, so that we found it impossible to clear it (Fig. 4). A strong presumption of the character of the sculptures it contains was furnished by its neighbor the second pyramid from the north end, the chapel of which we cleared out, and recorded in full. The places for the hieroglyphics in the sculptures were all left empty. I believe this chapel has not before been cleared. We cleared out six chapels in this group. The chapel of the pyramid at the extreme northwest contained a few pieces of blue glazed ware exactly like that of the Saitic age. I should say, therefore, that this group began not later than the Persian age, and continued into the Christian era.

In the eastern group across the intervening valley, Cailliaud measured nine pyramids and counted thirty-eight more. Some thirty are now traceable, but sixteen more low mounds are discernible on the hill west of the south end. In the chapel of pyramid No. 5 our excavation disclosed a very fragile offering-tablet of the deceased king, inscribed with his name. It was possible to copy this, but the crumbling condition of the stone made it impossible to rescue the tablet itself. In chapel No. 6, however, we discovered a well-preserved royal offering-tablet, also bearing the royal names and titles (see Fig. 6) and this monument we were able to forward in good condition to the museum at Khartûm.

The unexpected condition of the pyramids at Meroe involved much more labor than we had anticipated, and we were obliged to proceed much more rapidly than I desired, or than our usual plan of work permits. As the first attempt, however, to secure and preserve a complete record of all the documents surviving there, our negatives and copies may serve as permanent archives of the place. So many of the chapels contain duplicate scenes, that probably only a small proportion of the inscribed walls that have perished are really lost. We were disappointed at finding practically no inscriptions in the Meroitic script. The most important were

removed by Lepsius, and in view of the subsequent fate of so much on this site, it is a matter of congratulation that he did so. The quarries, from which the stone was taken for these pyramids, are in the eastern ridge farther out in the desert. Visiting these on the last day of our stay, I found that the vast quarry-halls had been pushed entirely through the top of the hill to the other side

FIG. 6.—Inscription on Sandstone Offering-Tablet of Ergamenes. Found in a chapel of the east group at Meroe, now at Khartûm.

at least five hundred feet. Enormous masses of stone chips have been shot over the slope and lie like a mountain on the eastern incline of the ridge. The place must have been worked for centuries to produce such vast excavations. In one portion several hundred feet long, the roof of the hall has fallen in, producing an enormous crater in the top of the hill. Such a quarry from ancient Egyptian times would undoubtedly contain a number of inscriptions left by officials and architects in charge of the work; but unfortunately I found none here.

III. NAGA AND MUṢAWWARÂT

Having spent two weeks at the ruins of Meroe, Sunday, November 11, found us again on the line of the Khartûm railway, and by evening we were encamped at Wad Ben Naga, forty-eight miles south of the pyramids of Meroe. In Lepsius' day, this trip would have consumed from two to three days. The next day we were somewhat delayed by dearth of camels, and leaving Wad Ben Naga some three hours late, began the twenty-four-mile march southeastward into the desert to the temples of Naga. Darkness overtook us long before our destination was reached, and although our late start had made it impossible to stop for anything to eat, I shall never forget the evening march across the starlit desert. To one familiar only with the desert of the north in Egyptian latitudes, this southern desert is a great surprise with its green wadis, water worn from the rains, and supporting considerable trees and groves. In a broadening of such a valley called Wadi Auatêb, a long day's march from the river, stand the temples of Naga (Fig. 7), the work of the same Nubian rulers who are buried at Meroe. They evidently had an important residence here. On the northwest of a group of at least six temples there are the remains of numerous buildings of stone, and brick, three of which at least were considerable colonnaded structures. The oldest temple here (Fig. 8) evidently dates from Ptolemaic times, while the not unpleasing kiosk (Fig. 10) before the temple of the great queen (Fig. 9) is evidently of Roman age. The Sudan Government have erected an excellent rest-house here, and dug a deep well, furnishing good water, so that work in this remote site is now practicable and easy. We exhaustively photographed and copied the numerous reliefs and inscriptions here, but as compared with Meroe, the enigma of it all was even more puzzling, an impression which was only heightened after a hot half day's march northward to the ruins of Muṣawwarât (Fig. 11). Here is a vast complex of stone masonry, once the palace of the Nubian line. It is some three hundred paces square, and in the midst of a raised base is a sumptuous peripteral building (Fig. 12), more likely to have been a state hall than a temple. Just northeast of it there is, however, an evident temple, and at the north end of the site still another.

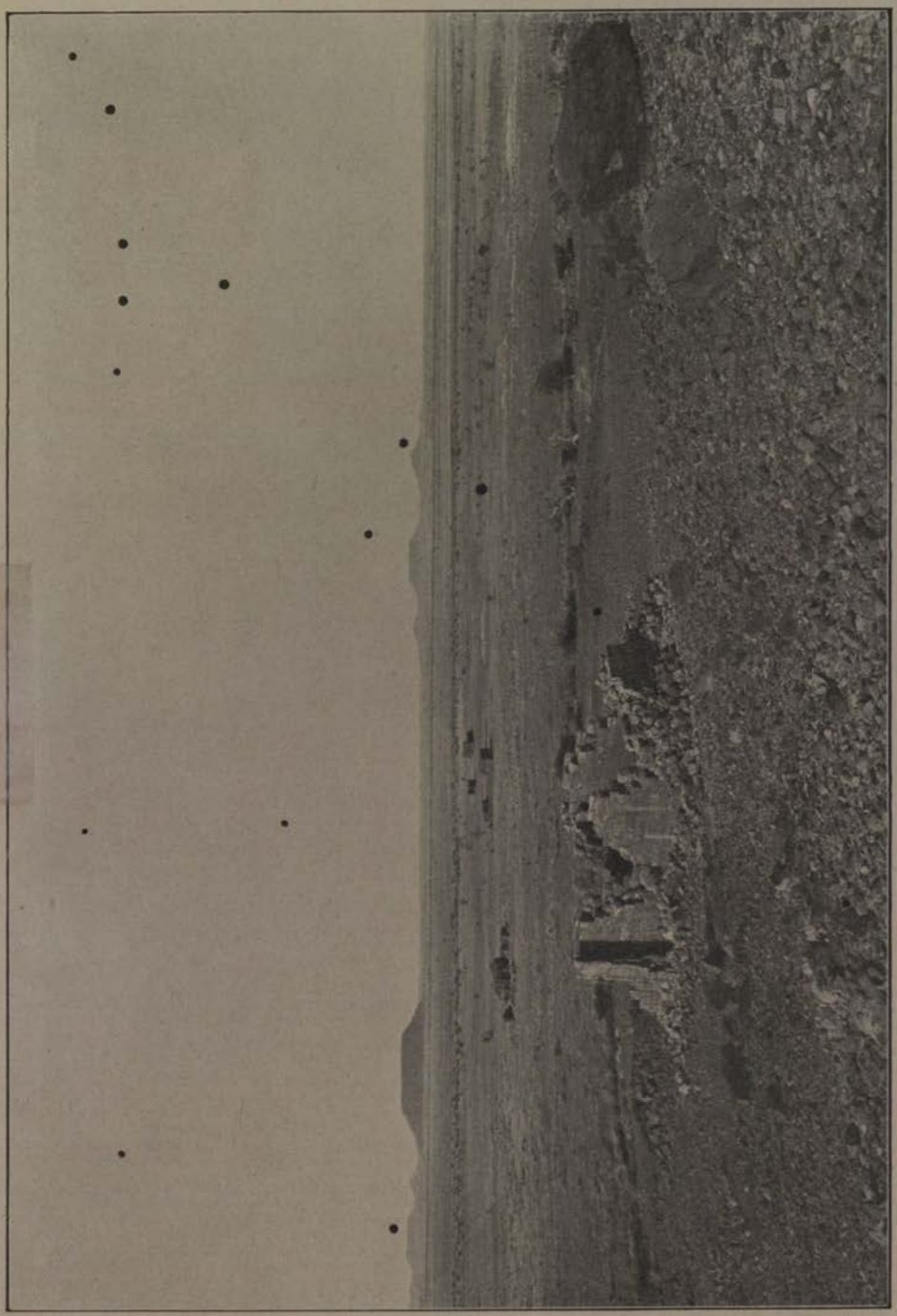


FIG. 7.—General View of the Plain and Temples of Naga from Northeast.

FIG. 8.—Column and Rear Doors of Ptolemaic Temple at Naga.

East of the palace a half-mile out in the desert are two more temples, the larger of which contains almost the only reliefs to be found at the place. These latter temples are close to the vast walls of an extensive reservoir, which supplied the royal residence with water. There are practically no inscriptions here at all.

FIG. 9.—Temple of the Queen of the Ferlini Jewelry, at Naga.

Throughout the course of his work at Meroe, Naga, and Muṣawwarât, the Egyptologist feels himself suddenly projected into a totally unknown chapter of history and art. The sculptures reveal a different world, and are not estimable by any analogies known to the observer, while, to increase his bewilderment, the inscriptions refuse to yield up their secrets. Undoubtedly the coming decipherment of the Meroitic inscriptions will relieve us of much of this embarrassment. It was with something of relief, therefore, that our short visit at Muṣawwarât concluded our rapid excursion into these monuments of the far south. While Mr. Davies and

myself made a brief visit in Khartûm, unfortunately much hampered by the festivities of Bairam, the nineteenth of November found us encamped at Abu Hamed at the head of the long fourth cataract region, at a point where the Nile turns sharply southwestward for some two hundred miles (see map, Fig. 1).

FIG. 10.—Temple of Roman Age at Naga.

IV. FOURTH CATARACT REGION

Of this stretch of two hundred miles, about one hundred and forty are so broken up by outcropping of the granite through the Nubian sandstone, that it forms one long succession of often dangerous rapids, the lower of which are known as the "fourth cataract," though the entire group from Abu Hamed onward is also frequently included in the term. This region is the second serious obstruction to navigation in the ascent of the Nile. Though the second cataract is even worse it is not quite so long,

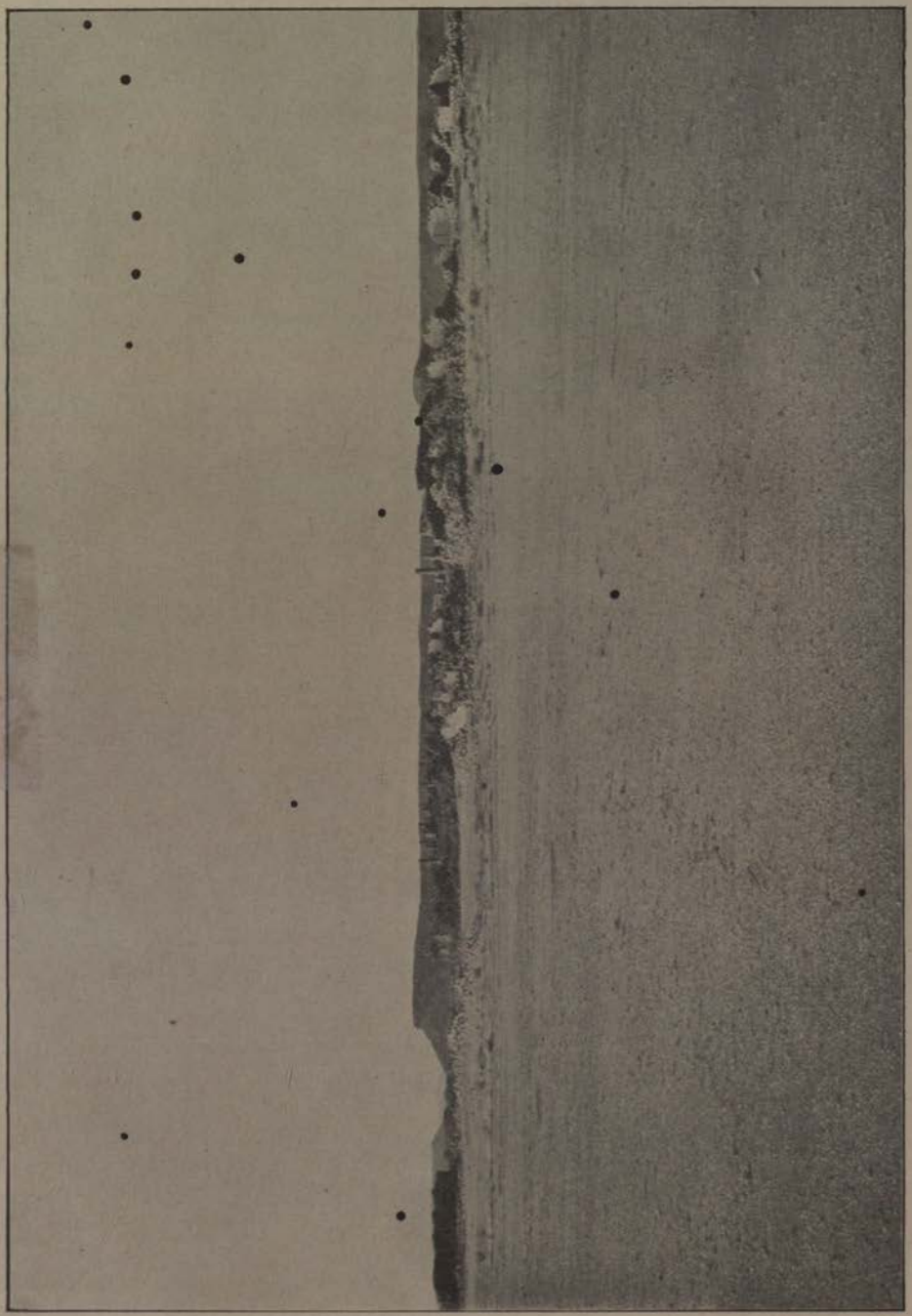


FIG. 11.—General View of Palace and Temples at Muṣawwarât from Northeast.

and is so comparatively near their ancient frontier, that the Pharaohs successfully passed it. The fourth cataract, however, is so remote and so long that the Pharaohs never surmounted it. They were never able to push their frontier above it. At its foot they built a frontier administrative city, Napata, and at the greatest expansion of the Empire, Karoy, the region about Napata, was

FIG. 12.—Central Peripteral Building at Musawwarât from Northwest.

officially called the southern limit of the Pharaoh's country. Here, then, we were about to enter territory whose monuments we could read, and we felt more at home. I had some hopes that we might happen upon the southern boundary land-marks of the Empire; for Minhotep, an officer of Amenhotep II, has left an inscription in the quarries at Turra, near Cairo, stating that in the land of Karoy (the southern boundary), and in the land of Naharin on the Euphrates (the northern boundary), he had erected the tablets of the king.[6]

[6] See the author's *Ancient Records*, II, §800.

Arrived at Abu Hamed, the feast of Bairam was not yet over, and we had much difficulty in securing a good boat for the descent of the cataracts. The only boat at Abu Hamed suitable for the dangerous voyage had been brought down from Khartûm, and the owner refused to sell it. The mamûr was doing all in his power to secure another, and the omdeh promised us one from a village farther up the river, but it was several days before it arrived, and then it seemed too small and hardly staunch enough to descend the rapids. A fortnight later when we had safely accomplished the descent of the cataract, we learned that a native who had embarked in this boat with his four wives was unable to keep it afloat in the cataract. It sank and all four of the women were drowned. The owner of the other boat was finally prevailed upon by the omdeh and the mamûr to part with it for fifteen pounds. It was about twenty feet long, eight feet wide, and two and a half feet deep, and built so heavily that when we put off with ten people in it, besides a good deal of baggage, on the afternoon of November 22, it carried all with ease. A small caravan which followed us on the right bank, carried further supplies, from which we drew whenever necessary. The voyage of one hundred and forty miles through the successive rapids of the cataract was one of surpassing interest, with a sufficient spice of danger and risk almost every day, to banish all tedium.

It is impossible in the space at command here, to do more than indicate the character and chief difficulties of a search for records in this region. We began with an attempt to search the islands and cliffs of the shore with thoroughness for such inscriptions as are regularly found in frontier districts of this kind farther down the river. This soon proved to be an enterprise of great difficulty. As soon as the numerous islands, sometimes of great size, began to lie in the stream several abreast, we could descend but one of several channels, and having descended, often through difficult rapids, it was impossible to reach the other islands. For if we succeeded in threading the numerous rocks in swift water and reaching the mainland to go back to a point opposite the islands passed, it was impossible to bring back the boat, with which to cross over to them. Often the current was so swift that it was

impossible to make a landing on an island we might be passing, because of numerous rocks, ugly and jagged, projecting far out into the stream along the shore. Our search finally resolved itself into careful observation of all smooth rocks facing the river, with a glass, in the hope that one of the earlier emperors might have marked his farthest advance there, as the Twelfth Dynasty Pharaohs did in the

FIG. 13.—Landscape in the Fourth Cataract Region.

second cataract region. But this search was necessarily, for the above reasons, confined to the particular channel down which we were passing. It is impossible here to devote any space to description of this wild and interesting region so little known to archaeologists.[7] Suffice it to say that the only ruins which we came upon were the strongholds of the petty Nubian kinglets, the "meleks" whom travelers of a century ago found still ruling their tiny kingdoms, the fragments of the once great Nubian empire. Situated on commanding cliffs and jutting rocks, their dark sun-dried brick walls and battlements formed a picturesque center in not a few scenes

[7] Cailliaud is the only one who passed through it.

of wild and solitary grandeur in this remote wilderness. A melancholy memorial of later history in this region we found on the island of Um Duêma, about half an hour by river below El Kab. Here lies the wreck of Colonel Stewart's steamer, sent out by Gordon, while beleaguered in Khartûm, with dispatches for the outside world (Fig. 14). Obliged by the wreck of his boat to land in

FIG. 14.—Fragments of Colonel Stewart's Steamer in the Fourth Cataract Region.

these dangerous waters, a disaster doubtless due to the treachery of his reis, Stewart was fallen upon by the crafty Arabs of the Monasîr, still living in the region, and he and all his party were massacred.

On November 30, having been nine days in the rapids, we emerged at the foot of the fourth cataract into smooth water. At this point we met for the first time the cordial assistance of Colonel Jackson, C. B., governor of the Dongola Province, who did all in his power to further our work. He placed at our disposal one of his picturesque Nubian police, who accompanied us throughout our work in the Dongola Province. For his warm hospitality and

ever-ready assistance we owe him a great debt of gratitude. Here at Kareima we were able to take possession of the two nuggers, or native cargo-boats, each of which was fitted with a deck-house for our occupancy, by the government Department of Steamers and Boats under the direction of Mr. C. H. Page, to whom our thanks are due for much assistance. The larger of the two boats was

FIG. 15.—A Bivouack in the Fourth Cataract Region. Boat in which the Expedition descended the rapids from Abu Hamed to Gebel Barkal (140 miles).

about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, and bore forward of the cabin a convenient dark-room, one of the most necessary things in our equipment. Such nuggers are equipped with two masts, and their sailing abilities are very well understood by the native reises; but being built with insufficient depth of keel, in order to decrease the draught, they are unable to sail down-stream with the wind abeam, and soon drift in upon the lee shore, a difficulty which caused us many a long delay. After several days spent in settling our outfit on board, we could devote our attention to the antiquities of the vicinity.

V. NAPATA (GEBEL BARKAL)

Across the river on the east, at the very foot of the cataract, are the pyramids of Nûri, perhaps the oldest pyramids in Nubia (Fig. 18). Here eight are still standing in some degree of preservation, while at least thirty-six more are scattered about as mere heaps. They are oriented roughly at southwest to northeast,

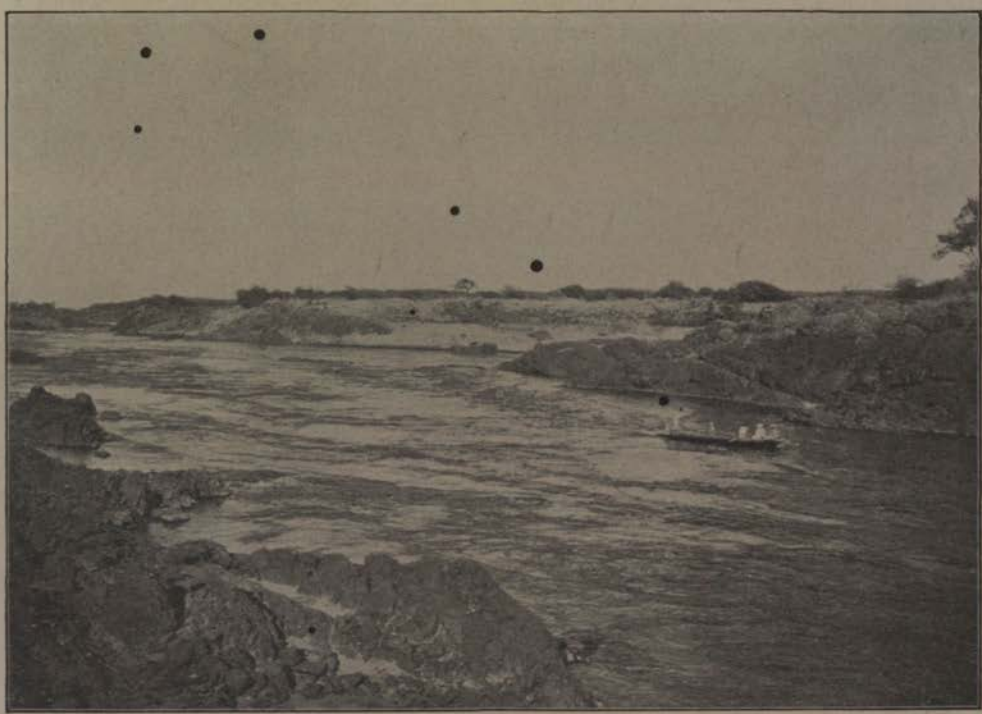


FIG. 16.—Running the Amraḫwa Rapids, the Last of the Fourth Cataract.

and some at least are of solid stone masonry to the center, though of such poor quality that they must of necessity rapidly fall to pieces. The chapels are heaps of ruins, preserving none of the sculptures or inscriptions. Here probably lie the kings of Nubia, for a brief time lords also of Egypt, against whom the prophet Isaiah declaimed in the streets of Jerusalem. The exact situation of their city of Napata is still a matter of some uncertainty, but its state temples, with traces of the neighboring palaces, lie at the foot of the imposing mount of Barkal (Gebel Barkal), a half-hour's walk from Kareima, and twenty-five minutes from the river

FIG. 17.—Looking down the Left Channel at the Foot of the Fourth Cataract. (Gebel Barkal is behind the trees on the left; a similar mountain on the right of the middle. The wooded shore on the right is an island.)

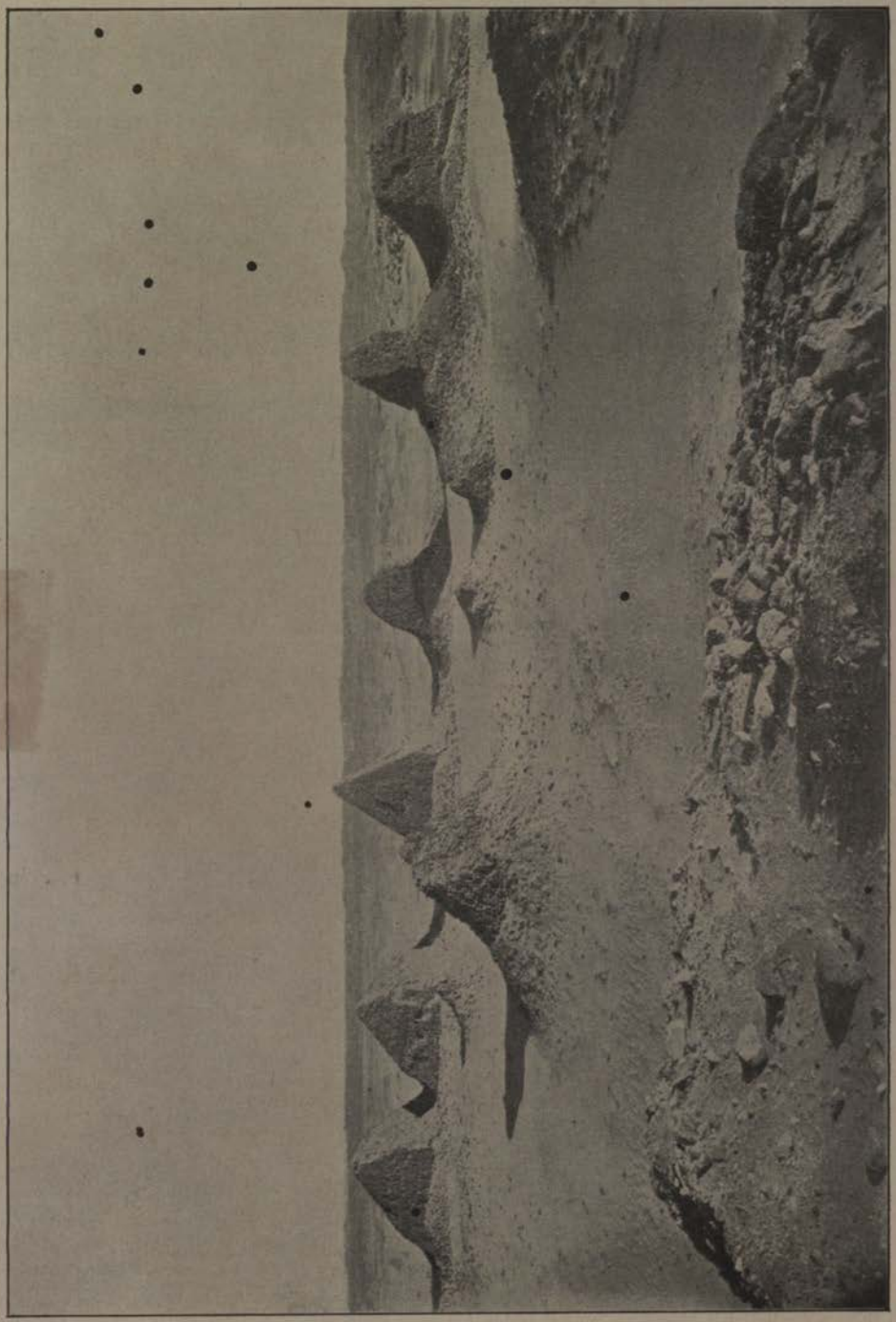


FIG. 18.—General View of the Pyramids of Nûri.

on the right bank. Here in the eighth century B. C. grew up the first independent Nubian kingdom, which in the last quarter of the eighth century B. C. absorbed Egypt, and held it, with the exception of the Delta, taken by the Assyrians, until 661 B.C. A hundred years later, perhaps impelled by the campaign of Psammetichos II against Nubia, these Nubian princes were already occupying their southern capital of Meroe, after which time they no longer resided so frequently at Napata. But the earlier history of the place dates far back of the rise of the Nubian kingdom. Seven hundred years earlier, in the middle of the fifteenth century B. C., we find Amenhotep II here hanging a rebellious vassal, whom he had brought from Tikhsi in Asia, upon the walls of Napata, as an example to the Nubians. It is a remarkable thing, therefore, that no remains of the imperial age, back of the independent Nubians, can be found at Napata.[1] The buildings now known there all date from the Twenty-fifth or Nubian Dynasty; but from the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the Pharaohs took possession of the place, on through the intervening dynasties, to the Twenty-fourth, no monuments have as yet been discovered there.

Looking out through the palms of the village of Barkal, northward across the fields and the desert the splendid yellow mass of Mount Barkal rises on the northern horizon behind the rich green of the palms (Fig. 19). On the southern flank of the mount, facing the observer as he appoaches from the river, are ranged the scanty ruins of six temples, extending in general in an east and west line, and mostly facing east of south (Fig. 20). On the west of the mount are two groups of pyramids. The temples have suffered so sadly that epigraphic work exists only in the large temple at the extreme east, and in another near the west end of the row.

The large eastern temple is the oldest now known at Napata, the granite base of a chapel at the rear end showing the name of a Piankhi, probably the great Piankhi who conquered Egypt in the second half of the eighth century B. C. An altar of Taharka (688–663 B. C.) also stands in a side chapel at the rear. But the

[1] Lepsius states that he found the name of Ramses II here, but this was doubtless the throne-name assumed by a later Nubian. We also found the name of Wśr-m''t-Rʿ (throne-name of Ramses II) here, but it was clearly later Nubian work. These late Nubians frequently assumed the great names of Egyptian Pharaohs.

FIG. 19.—Gebel Barkal Viewed through the Palms of Barkal Village Looking north of west (pyramids visible on horizon at left of mountain)

FIG. 20.—Gebel Barkal or Mount Barkal, and the Ruined Temples of Ancient Napata at its Base (at right is great Nubian temple of Amon, at extreme left temple of Tirhaka [Taharka]).

hall and the large court in front certainly belong to a much later age, and doubtless date from the early centuries of the Christian era. The later Nubian kings who built the large court adorned it with sculptures which they took from older temples. Especially notable are the two noble lions now in the British Museum, and the ram at Berlin, all of which were carried from Amenhotep III's temple at Soleb.[9] A number of such rams still mark the avenue down the axis of the forecourt, though they are all but one now covered with rubbish.

It was in this temple that the annals of the Nubian king, recorded on granite stelae, were discovered by an Egyptian official in 1862. They were shortly after removed and brought to Egypt by order of Mariette. In the series of stelae thus rescued, those of the kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty who disputed with Assyria the possession of Palestine and lower Egypt are entirely lacking, leaving a noticeable gap. I therefore very much desired to find some of the old men of the neighboring villages, who might remember where these stelae had been taken out over forty years ago. At this juncture we received a very welcome visit from Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, acting curator of the Antiquities of the Sudan, to whom we are indebted for much information, and who extended to us every assistance in his power at all times. With his aid and that of Mr. Woodland, inspector at Meraui (Merowe) an aged native was found who told us with accuracy and detail the story of how the stelae were excavated and removed, and pointed out the place without hesitation. He took us to the forecourt of the large eastern temple, and pointing to the rear of the court, indicated the wall of the western half of the second pylon, or rear wall of the forecourt, as the place where the stelae had stood. We therefore engaged a body of natives and set them at work clearing the other half of the pylon. We kept from forty to sixty men on the place for a week, and removed the rubbish from an area extending almost out to the adjoining row of columns (see

[9] In view of the explicit statement in the inscription of the late Nubian king on one of the lions, that he carried it off, and the explicit statement of Amenhotep III on all of the sculptures that they were made for Soleb, no time need be spent in discussing the denials recently expressed (Budge, *Sudan*, I, 618 f., where the statement of the Nubian king is unknown, and the illustrations of the ram are accompanied by the statement that they were placed by Amenhotep III at Soleb, though the text of the book denies this fact).

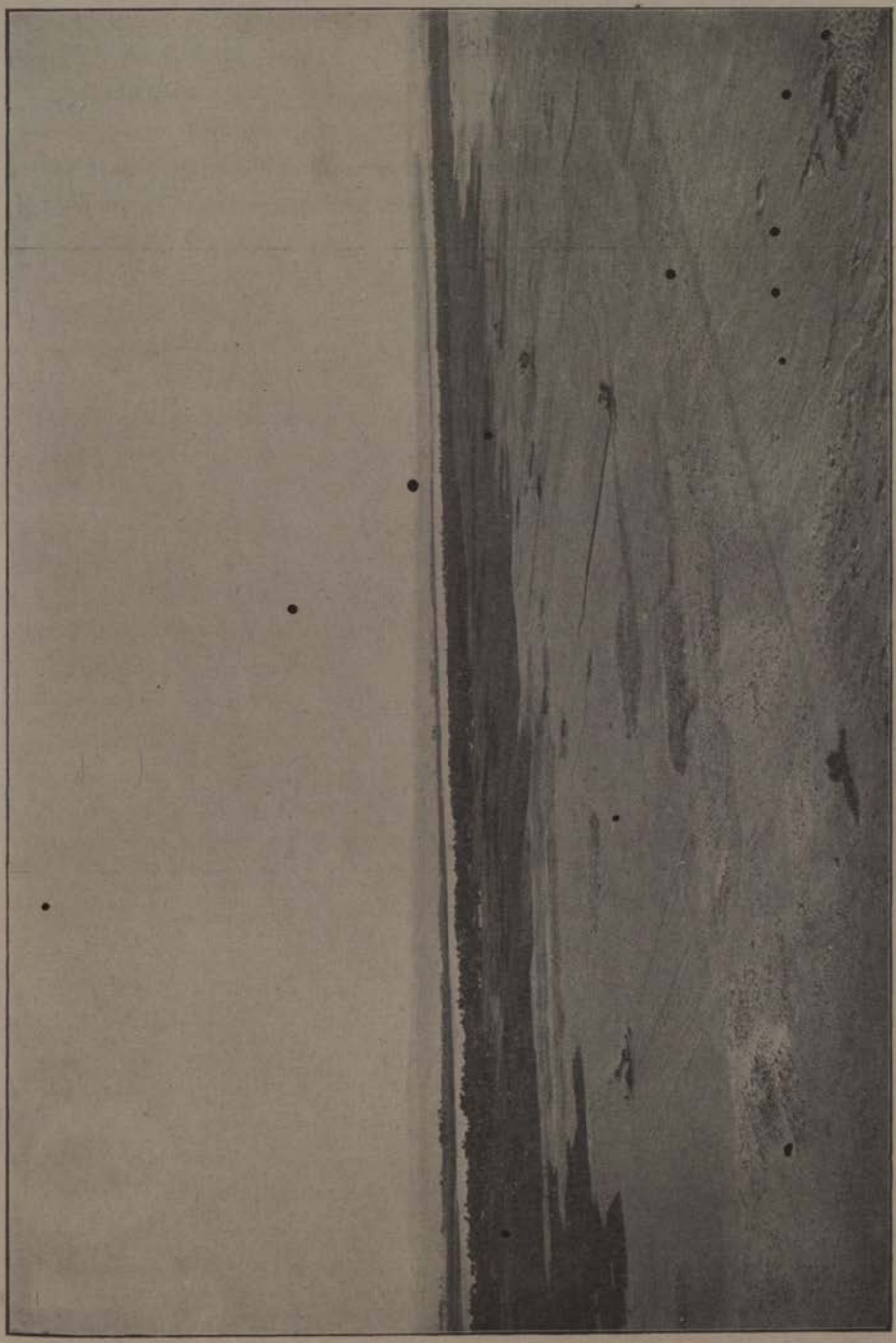


FIG. 21.—View Southwestward from the Summit of Mount Barkal. Looking down river across Barkal village and fields of the Dongola Province to New Merowe (Abu Dom) six miles below on the other shore.

Fig. 22). Descending to the level of the pavement, we found that it had been removed. No trace of any stelae was discernible. The excavation disclosed reliefs on the pylon of enormous dimensions, showing the king slaying his enemies in the conventional style before Amon. On the westernmost column on this side of the court a perfectly preserved Meroitic inscription was found. The clear-

FIG. 22.—Excavations in First Court of Great Amon Temple at Napata (Gebel Barkal).

ance also exposed a long relief on the inside of the east wall of the court. It depicts the sacred barque containing the image of Amon borne on the shoulders of the priests. Before it, in the place occupied by the Pharaoh in Egyptian reliefs of the kind, the high priest offers incense, while *behind him* follows the king. This is a striking corroboration of the classic stories of the pre-eminence of the priesthood in the Nubian kingdom. In the accompanying inscription occurs the name of a queen who is mentioned on a statue in the Berlin Museum which was found in Upper Egypt.[10]

[10] Berlin, No. 4437. The name is probably to be read 'nḫ-Pkrsr'y. I am indebted for the reference to the Berlin statue to my friend Schaefer (see *AZ*, 43, 48).

Evidently the connection between this Nubian kingdom and that of Egypt in later times was not entirely broken.

The three small temples lying immediately west of the large eastern temple have now almost disappeared, and what little they offer need not be summarized here. The other important temple

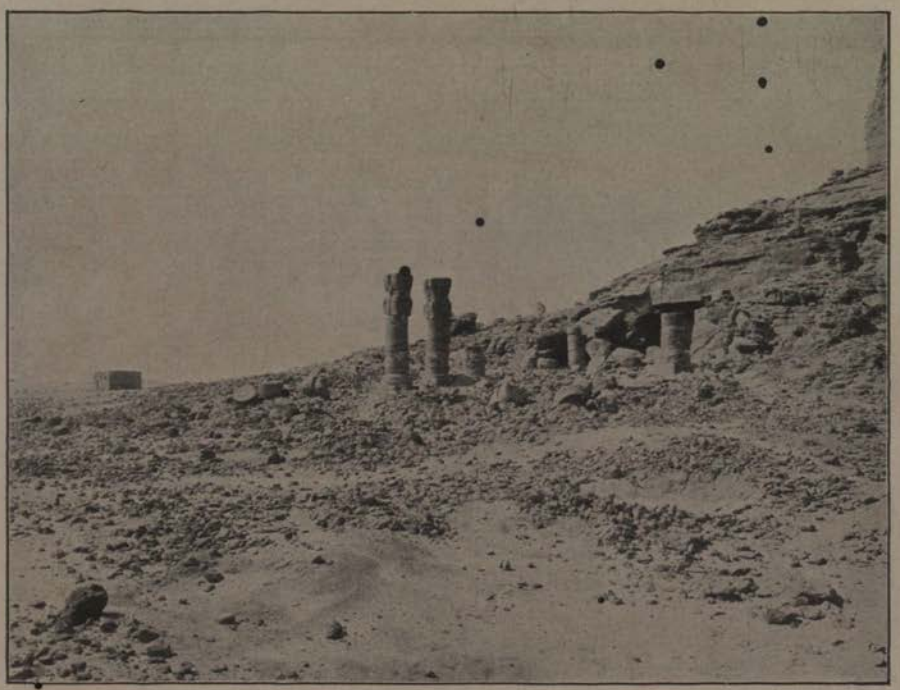


FIG. 23.—Temple of Taharka at Napata (Gebel Barkal).

here is the second from the western end, built by Taharka (Fig. 23). It consists of two colonnaded halls of masonry, followed by a third hall, which, with three chambers behind it, is cut into the cliffs of the mountain. The dedication inscription furnishes a hint of its history, for in it Taharka states that he "found this temple built [by the hand] of the ancestors, a small work" and that he thereupon rebuilt it. Undoubtedly this was then the Empire temple. It is dedicated to Mut; the large eastern temple was therefore the state temple of Amon, while one of the small

temples between will have been the sanctuary of Khonsu, the other member of the Theban triad.

While at work upon this temple we received a visit from Colonel Jackson, the governor, who has evinced the greatest interest in the Barkal temples. But for his work of conservation there would not be a column left standing among them. Cut by the wind-driven sand, they are slowly eaten away at the base, and would long since have fallen, but for the staunch masonry with which he has supported them, as well as, also, the walls of the transverse hall of Taharka's temple. Approaching for work here one morning we found a knot of natives excavating at a spot where none of our men had ever been placed, and I immediately investigated what they were doing. There was a funeral taking place in a neighboring cemetery, and these men were taking out flat stones to lay upon the body in the grave before it was covered up. On inquiry it was found that they had been accustomed to do this from time immemorial. It was thus evident why so much of these temples had disappeared since the time of Cailliaud. On being informed of these facts, Colonel Jackson had the chief men of the neighboring villages summoned and Mr. Woodland, the inspector, informed them of the severe penalties which they would incur on any repetition of the offense.[11]

The pyramids on the west of the mountain contain six well-preserved specimens (Fig. 24) but the chapels are in such bad condition that they furnished only scanty materials like those obtained from the chapels at Meroe. There are seven pyramids on the crown of the slope and ten more, totally dismantled, on the lower ground farther south. Structurally they are of the greatest interest, for the summits of three are better preserved than any other pyramids in Nubia. Here at the provincial capital of Upper Nubia, where the Twenty-fifth Dynasty largely resided, we might expect them to contain the bodies of the earliest Nubian kings. But this problem is still unsettled.

On the twentieth of December, having spent three weeks on the ruins of Barkal, our two boats cast off for the voyage of over

[11] The enactments of the Antiquities Ordinance issued for the protection of the monuments by the Sudan Government, provide for a year's imprisonment as the penalty for such destruction of ancient monuments.

three hundred and thirty miles around the western segment of the upper half of the S, through the third cataract to the head of the long series of rapids, of which the last and worst is called the second cataract (see map, Fig. 1). We anticipated leaving the boats at Kosha, one hundred and fifteen miles above Halfa, at the foot of

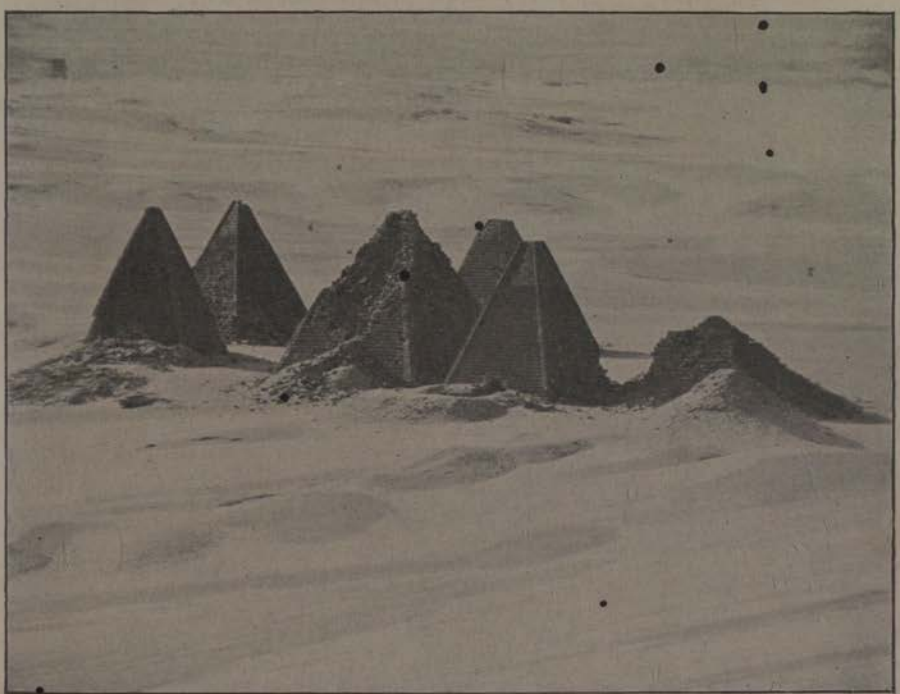


FIG. 24.—The Pyramids at Napata (Gebel Barkal) from the Summit of Mount Barkal (taken with telephoto attachment).

the second cataract. Five miles from Barkal we made our first stop at Merowe, the present capital of the Dongola Province, and the residence of the governor. Here we enjoyed the cordial hospitality of Colonel Jackson, under whom the Dongola Province is enjoying the most flourishing prosperity. He showed us the remains on an ancient site east and southeast of the present town. The excavations made in erecting a blockhouse during Kitchener's campaign against the Dervishes had accidentally uncovered the remains of a temple with a colonnaded hall, though the ground-

plan could not be made out, as the deserted blockhouse still stands on the ruins. Another colonnaded building lies in the vicinity and near it a colossal hawk wrought in black granite. All around these are numerous mounds covered with the potsherds usual on such a site. They are all late so far as I could observe. On the desert side is the cemetery of the ancient town, from which the diggers of sebakh have taken scarabs and statuettes, probably ushebti-figures. The question arises whether this is the Empire town of Napata founded by the Eighteenth Dynasty in the sixteenth century B. C. The natives call the place Abu Dôm. The name "Meraui" properly attaches to the site immediately opposite Abu Dôm, but was transferred to the present capital of Dongola at Abu Dôm (now called Merowe) by Kitchener. The name "Meraui" has been shown by Lepsius to be Nubian. The original Meraui on the right bank, that is, on the same side of the river as Gebel Barkal and its temples, still contains a ruinous mamurîyeh, the walls of which are filled with sculptured fragments and inscribed blocks, taken from ancient Egyptian tombs and temples, and re-used in comparatively modern times. Some of these are older than the Nubian kings. Indeed, one of them bears an isolated mention of "Per-Amenemhet" or "House of Amenemhet." This can hardly be any other than one of the Twelfth Dynasty Amenemhets. It would be rash to conclude that one of these kings at so early a date penetrated so far into the Sudan, much less that he could have founded a town in this vicinity, but the interesting fragment is likely to belong to the ruin of some Empire tomb or temple in the vicinity. In the middle of the inclosure is a fine block of granite bearing the name Seneferre-Piankhi, and another fragment in the wall contains the name Taharka. The place from which these fragments came, being on the same side of the river as the Gebel Barkal ruins and only five miles away, may either itself have been the ancient town of Napata, or the fragments may conceivably have been carried from the Gebel Barkal site. In favor of this last supposition is the fact that the block of Seneferre-Piankhi calls him "beloved of Mut residing in Nubia (T'-Pdt)." It may therefore have come from the Mut temple rebuilt by Taharka at Gebel Barkal.

VI. FROM NAPATA TO ARGO

It was with great regret that we took our last stroll through Governor Jackson's superb garden at Merowe, and enjoyed his kindly hospitality for the last time, a pleasure which we shall not soon forget. On the twenty-second of December we passed the so-called pyramids of Kurru, and also those of Tangassi, which are little more than burial tumuli, with a few unhewn stones scattered over them to retain the desert gravel of which they are composed. Some seventeen miles from Merowe on the right bank is a similar group of mounds, which we reached on the next day. In a winding wadi west of the cemetery, I was led by a native to what he called "buyût" ("houses"), which proved to be a series of tomb chambers cut in the rock wall of the wadi. The walls were plastered with stucco, into which were cut Coptic inscriptions, all of which had almost entirely disappeared except one in the ceiling which I photographed. These are among the southernmost Coptic inscriptions known. Reaching Bakhît on the same day, we found there our first Christian church. It is one of a number still surviving in ruinous condition in the Dongola Province. They arose in the sixth century A. D. on the christianization of Nubia, and fell into ruin in the fourteenth century, when Christianity in this region was supplanted by Islam. The church of Bakhît is surrounded by heavy fortress walls of sun-dried brick reinforced with stone. The curtain wall is strengthened by eighteen projecting towers for enfilading the attacking lines. A few miles below Bakhît the Sudanese Arabic ceases to be the native tongue and the villagers speak Nubian, though the men all understand Arabic also.

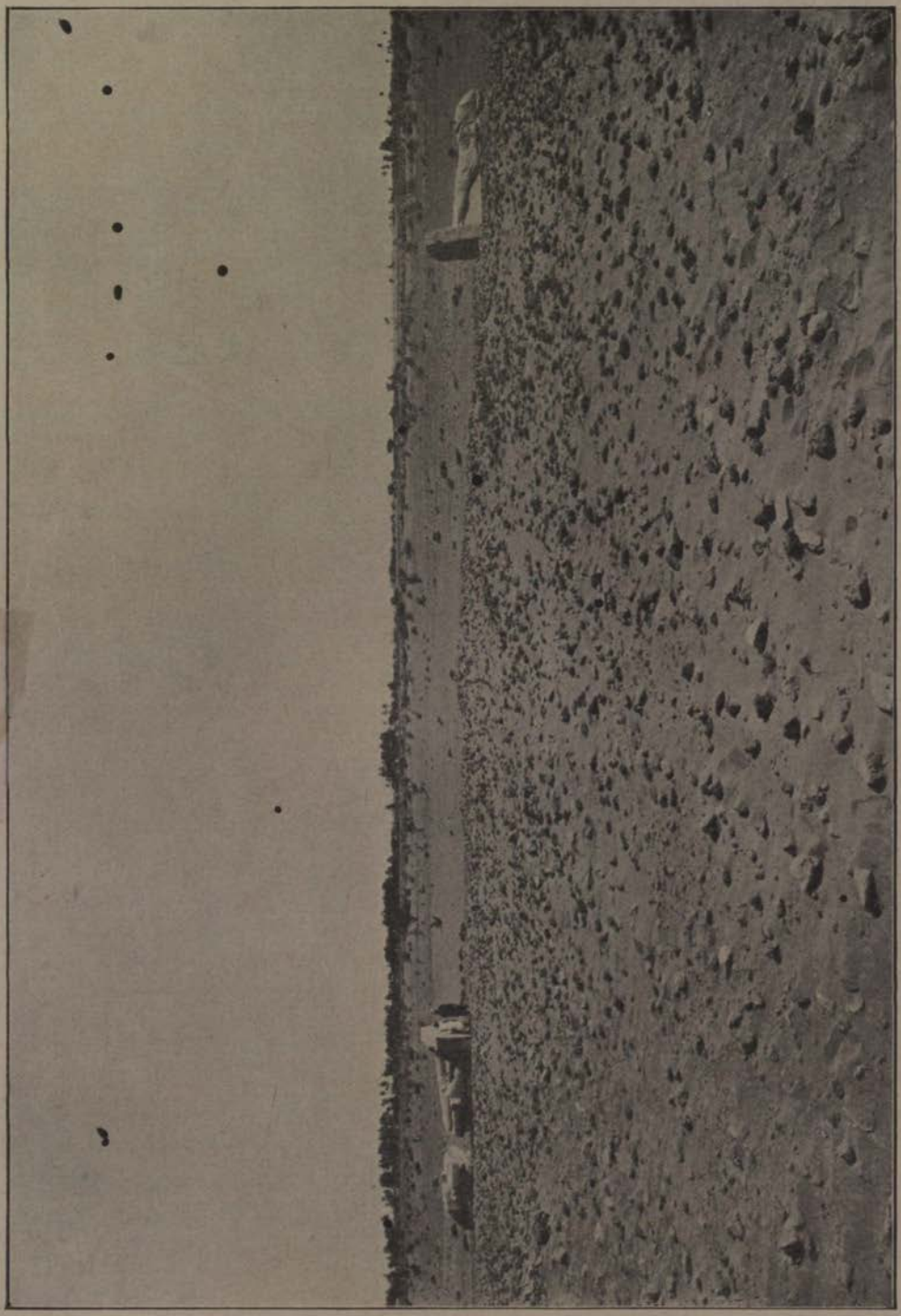
On the twenty-fourth of December we reached Debba, where the Nile begins to turn northward, and after which we were obliged to sail against the incessant and powerful north wind. On the way we made brief observations and photographs at the Christian fortresses of Ed-Dafar and Genetti. We were held at Debba all Christmas day by a head wind, but managed to reach Old Dongola by the next evening. On the twenty-seventh I found a native north of Old Dongola on the east shore, at a village known as Megabda, who told of an inscribed stone far out in the desert. Here, some

four miles from the river, a broad wadi filled with trees and scattered vegetation passes like a river of green through the desolate expanse of the gravelly desert and must be fed by subterranean water. Its course is roughly parallel with the Nile and it is known as Letti. Approaching it from Megabda, we came upon a low oval mound of red burned brick some four hundred to five hundred feet long and half as wide. On its western margin lies a splendid granite block, a section of an obelisk, bearing on one corner the fragments of a four-lined Egypto-Nubian hieroglyphic inscription, now too fragmentary, unfortunately, to give us any information as to the place. But it was evidently a Nubian site of Meroitic age.

Having passed the night at Kheleiwa, where there is a fallen granite column of a church long since engulfed by the river, we stopped on the morning of the twenty-eighth at Shekh Arab Hagg, where we rode out again into the wadi of Letti, visited farther south the day before. Here, along all the eastern margin of this wadi, is one vast cemetery for miles and miles. Some of it is unquestionably ancient, but parts of it are still in use by the desert tribes along here. Here and there rises a "ḳubba" or domed tomb of a holy man. Near such a ḳubba behind Arab Hagg lies the section of a granite obelisk of the existence of which I was kindly informed by Mr. Crowfoot. It bears on each side a column of inscription by a Piankhi, whose Horus-name is once given as K'-t'wyf, or "Bull of His Two Lands;" and again as "Mighty Bull Shining in Thebes." His nbty-name is Ḥḳ'-Kmt, "Ruler of Egypt." Unfortunately his throne-name is not given. The section had been roughly rounded by hewing off the corners, till it much resembled a column from one of the churches of the region, and as such it had undoubtedly later served. It will be evident, therefore, that some ancient Nubian town and temple existed somewhere in this Wadi Letti. The omdeh from Shekh Arab Hagg, who was with us, stated that he knew of other remains farther north, and we followed him northward for two miles. On reaching the spot the stone he had promised to show us was found to be completely covered by drifting sand and after searching for some time we were unable to hit upon it. The section of obelisk has since been transported to Khartûm, where it now is in the museum.

VII. ARGO AND TOMBOS

From this point until the island of Argo was reached, only a church at Komi (west shore) and the ground plan of a late Nubian temple at Bugdumbush (east side) offered us any new material. We found New Dongola, which we reached late on New Year's Day, very interesting and its market furnished us the last opportunity before the awful wilderness of Batn el-Ḥagar, for buying petroleum. Here we were delayed by a violent northern storm, and it was not until the afternoon of January 4 that we reached the island of Argo (Arḳo). Stopping at the village or district of Tebe on the west side of the island we marched inland to a point nearer the eastern shore where there are extensive traces of an ancient town. The two well-known colossi of granite, each some twenty feet high, are standing statues of late Nubian kings without inscription (Fig. 25). They stood facing each other on each side of the temple entrance and have now each fallen over backward. The mound containing the ruins of the temple is elongated east and west, being some 250 feet long; and the statues lie at one end, that is, of course, the front end of the ancient building. On the northern side of the temple mound at about the north wall of the forecourt, west of the colossi is the sitting statue of King Sebekhotep (Ḫ'-nfr-R'-Sbk-ḥtp) of the Thirteenth Dynasty, facing south. The age of this statue has commonly been confused with that of the two late colossi near it, a confusion to which the present writer must also plead guilty. The presence of the Sebekhotep statue, commonly supposed to be very large, on this remote island has been generally regarded as evidence that Sebekhotep of the otherwise insignificant Thirteenth Dynasty, had extended the power of Egypt southward from the second cataract to this point. An inspection of the Sebekhotep statue, however, must lead to a different and important, even though negative, conclusion. The statue in the sitting posture measures about four and a half feet in height (Fig. 26). It weighs far less than the British Museum lions, which some late Nubian king transported from Soleb below the third cataract three hundred miles up the river to Gebel Barkal (Napata). Without further evidence of any conquests in Nubia by Sebekhotep, therefore, we are perfectly safe in concluding, that,



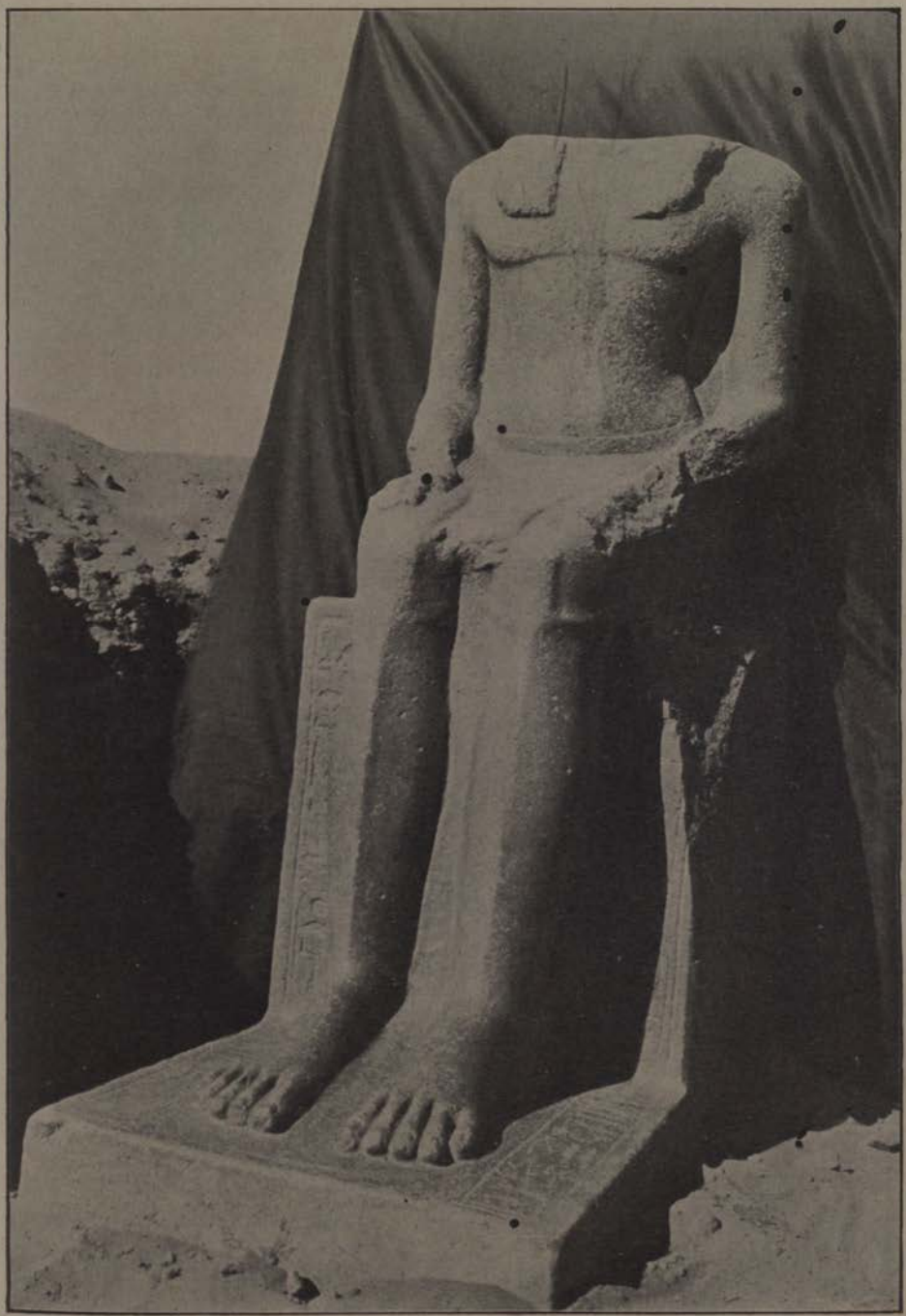


FIG. 26.—Granite Statue of Seb-khotep Brought up the Nile by Some Late Nubian to the Island of Argo.

like the Soleb lions, this statue of Sebekhotep was carried southward from some temple of northern Nubia by a late Nubian king. We are thus relieved of the confusing and anomalous supposition that the weak Thirteenth Dynasty, after the fall of the Middle Kingdom, advanced the southern frontier of Egypt over two hundred miles southward. The gradual absorption of Nubia by the Pharaohs thus becomes an intelligible and traceable progress southward at times when such advances of the frontier are quite in harmony with the internal vigor of Egypt.

As we left the Dongola Province at this point, we were impressed with *the historical significance of its economic value*. It is a rather general impression among Egyptologists that the sole motive for the southern advance of the Pharaohs and their steady absorption of Nubia was the desire to control the southern trade routes coming out of the Sudan and to hold the Nubian gold mines in the eastern desert, but that the land itself offered nothing which would attract conquest. Having now traveled the entire length of the Dongola Province, viewed its broad fields and splendid palm groves, sheltering and feeding so many prosperous communities, the economic value of the region to the Pharaohs became at once apparent and much more strikingly so than from any report of some other traveler.[12] Here at the northern gateway of this province, also, it was significant to find the memorials of the king to whom (with the above Sebekhotep out of the way) it now becomes evident that the conquest of the entire region was due. The Middle Kingdom (2000–1788 B. C.) had definitely advanced the southern frontier of Egypt to a point some forty miles above Halfa, at Kummeh and Semneh. During the period of weakness and confusion culminating in the invasion and dominion of the Hyksos, after the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty, it was not to be expected that any further southward advance would be made. Now that the anomalous Sebekhotep at Argo is out of the way, we know that none was made. With the expulsion of the Hyksos, however, expansion northward and southward followed, and hence we find the records of Thutmose I (last quarter of the sixteenth century B. C.) extending from the first cataract ever southward at intervals

[12] Schaefer in his publication *Nastesen* has expressed a similar opinion, from impressions gained from Lepsius' notes.

through the dangerous waters and difficult marches in the desolate wilderness of the Batn el Ḥagar, until, having surmounted the rapids of the third cataract, he was the first Pharaoh to stand at the northern gateway of the Dongola Province. Before him flowed over two hundred miles of unbroken river, winding among the richest fields and the most opulent palm groves in the Sudan (Fig. 21). With the difficulties of the long advance now behind him, and the decisive battle over, he halted here for a well-earned rest, and opposite the Island of Tombos (Fig. 27) he erected five triumphant stelae commemorating the conquest, calling him "Overthrower of Kush," and proudly reciting the limits of his vast empire, from the upper Euphrates on the north, to this remote province on the upper Nile (Fig. 28). At the same time he took measures to protect and hold the new conquest, and built a fortress here. Thus when we have excluded the alleged advance of Sebekhotep through this region, Thutmose I and his monuments here gain an entirely new significance. He was the first of the Pharaohs to view this great garden on the upper Nile, and to him its absorption by Egypt was due.

There are no traces of the fortress mentioned in the largest stela-inscription on the eastern shore, where the stelae all are; but on the upper (southern) end of the island of Tombos opposite the stelae, is a Nubian stronghold of sun-dried brick, which may contain the nucleus of Thutmose I's fortress here. The rocks on the island and the neighboring mainland belong to a granite ridge, which cropping out here causes the Abu Fatma and Hannek rapids immediately below, these being the chief rapids of the third cataract. Both on the island and the eastern mainland the granite has been extensively quarried, and in the eastern quarry there lies a prostrate royal colossus left nearly finished. It is evidently from here that the granite shafts for the large colossi on Argo were taken. They show the same color. It should be noted also that the granite of the Sebekhotep statue there is of much darker color than that of the large colossi, or that of these Tombos quarries, the only granite near Argo. The granite rocks in the middle of the island rise fifty to seventy-five feet above the river and bear numerous rude graffiti of workmen, chiefly depicting animals and boats.

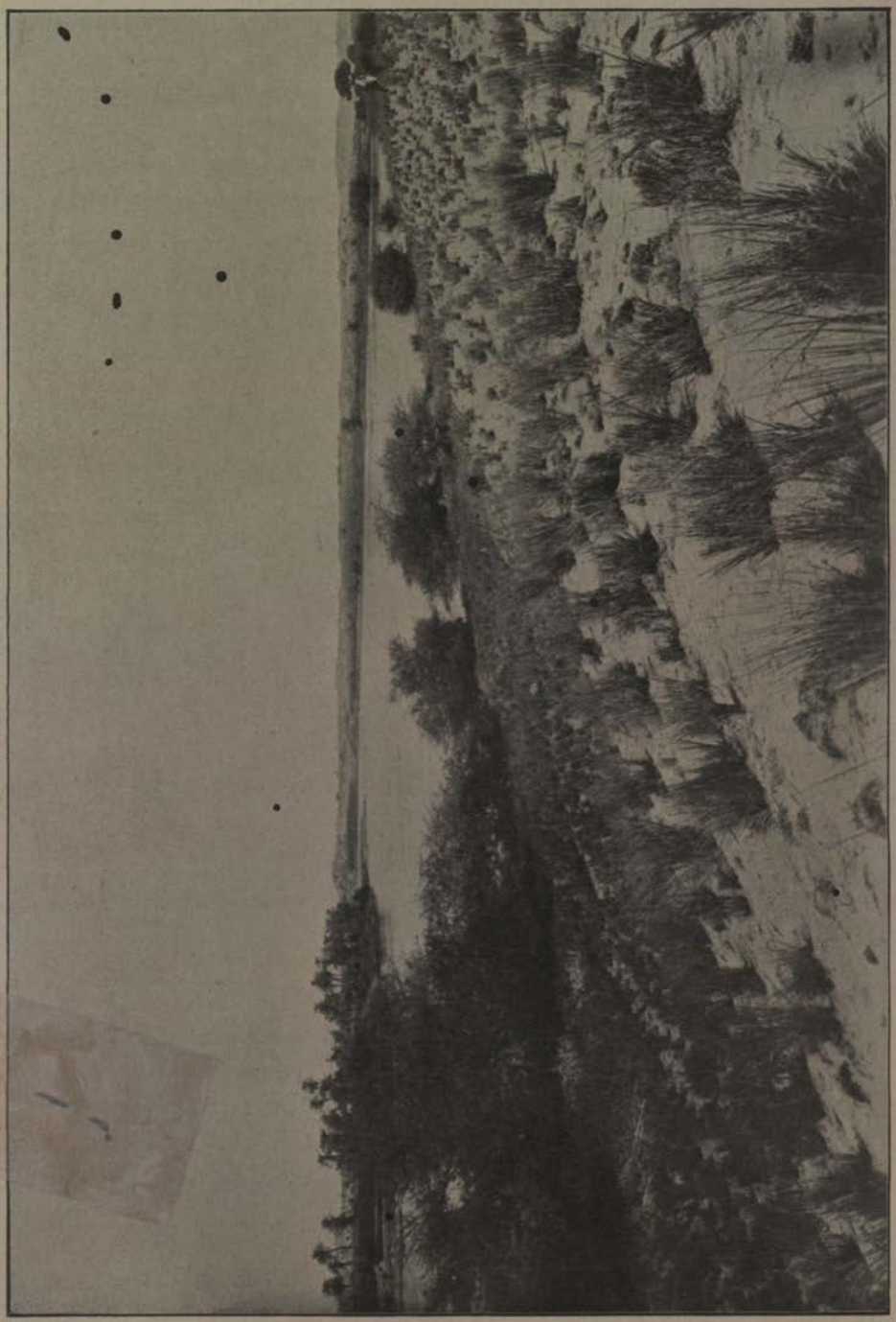


FIG. 27.—The Nile, Looking down Stream at Tombos. Island of Tombos at left. Stelae and inscriptions of Thutmose I on rocks at right.

Further south, between the fortress and the granite quarries of the island, we found on a low rock a new inscription. It is dated in the year twenty of a king whose name is certainly either Thutmose III or Thutmose IV. The space for the three plural strokes which would make the name that of Thutmose IV, has been broken out, but there is room for them, and the question arises whether

FIG. 28.—Photographing Tombos Stela of Thutmose I. The stela is inscribed on the large fallen rock at left.

the preceding sign, the beetle (ḫpr), has been slightly misplaced by accident, or intentionally so placed to make room for the following plural strokes. The available documents from the reign of Thutmose IV and his age at death (twenty-four) as shown by his mummy, are against his having reigned so long as twenty years. The inscription belongs to a new viceroy of the south, "king's-son, governor of the southern countries, Ani." His name occurs in two places, and both times has been carefully erased. The first time, the remains of the signs projecting above and below and preceding the erased surface would indicate with tolerable certainty

that the name is Ani. It contains eight lines, being a prayer to the gods of Nubia for "valor, vigilance, ... readiness, in the favor of the king" and the usual material blessings. Ani adds, however, a list of the products of the Sudan which he delivers to the king. They are: "perfumes (Ḫnm·t), ivory, ebony, carob wood, ... (a word lost), skins of the panther, Khesyt-wood, incense of the Mazoi, being the luxuries (špsw) of wretched Kush." The Mazoi were the Nubian tribe occupying the country within the upper loop of the Nile-S, and now included between the river and railroad from Halfa to Abu Hamed. It is evident that the bulk of "Kush" was the Dongola Province. This is the southernmost inscription of an Egyptian viceroy, and the first yet found in the Dongola Province.

On the way to Tombos Davies went out to the strange massive mud brick mastabas at Defufa and made some general observations and photographs. These enigmatical monuments would repay a more extended investigation than it was possible for us to make in the limited time at our disposal. At the same time I went down the west shore to a point well toward Tombos and collected some data on the remains of a church in Akkad north of Hafir.

VIII. THIRD CATARACT

On the completion of the monuments of Thutmose I at Tombos, we began the passage of the third cataract, and accomplished safely the descent of the Abu Fatma and Hannek rapids on the eleventh of January. These are usually called the third cataract, although there is one more, though easy, rapid just below Hannek at Shaban and still another short, but much worse, rapid at Kagbâr, thirty miles farther north. A tempest from the north, which wrecked a native boat in the channel on our beam at the foot of Hannek, held us moored at the north end of Simit Island, above the Shaban cataract all day the twelfth of January. We sent out our felucca, the only small boat to be had, to the rescue of the two people clinging to the wreck, but so powerful was the wind that the felucca was three times blown past the wreck and carried off to leeward, before she made the wreck and took the owner and his son ashore. Shortly afterward, a fold of our badly housed mainsail having been

caught by the gale, it was quickly whipped from its lashings and the lower half of it snapped into ribbons before the slovenly Nubian sailors could secure it again. The next day the wind had abated but the repair of our mainsail delayed us half a day, and the night of January 13 found us no farther on than the head of the Shaban rapid. This we ran on the fourteenth and in the

FIG. 29.—Our Larger Gyassa Descending the Kagbâr Cataract.

evening of the fifteenth we moored but a few miles above the Kagbâr rapid. By noon of the sixteenth we had secured a gang of men from the neighboring village and had begun the passage of the difficult Kagbâr channel. It lies at the west end of the rugged granite ridge which stretches across the river here like an artificial dam. The drop in perhaps three or four hundred feet is considerable and the channel makes two sharp turns, forming a complete inverted Z. However, when darkness overtook us, the smaller of our two gyassas was safely through, though only after a narrow escape at one point, and the larger boat was lying in the lower angle of the Z (Fig. 29). This was an uncomfortable situ-

ation, at a point where the boat was exposed to the full fury of the swift water descending the long reach of the Z. Sleep was impossible, and to add to our discomfort a heavy wind off shore sprang up. Above the roar of the cataract surging beside us I heard, about midnight, the sharp snapping of canvas fluttering in the wind, and on going out could discern through the darkness the mizzen-sail loose from its lashings, and drawing heavily. The reis had moored the boat only at the bow, and the stern was now driven by the mizzen-sail out into the rapid. The single forward line chafing on the rocks fortunately held long enough for the frightened crew to carry a line ashore from the stern, but they could not draw the stern in again. What we escaped in the night, however, or a similar mishap, overtook us the next morning. We succeeded in avoiding the rocks in the last reach of the Z, and were driving across the river at the foot of the cataract in the heavy wind still blowing, when we ran upon a hidden rock under full way, which drove a large hole through the starboard bow. The boat filled rapidly, and the water had reached the after-deck, which is always low in such craft, in a few minutes, but fortunately just as she sank the heavy wind had beached her. The story of the removal of our stores as the water rushed into the hold, our efforts to prevent the craft turning over into deep water and driving with the current a total wreck, and the various attempts to repair the hull cannot be added here to burden this brief recital of our winter's work. We succeeded in stopping the hole sufficiently to bale out the water, and right her, and in the final work of patching the hole inside and out, we enjoyed the assistance of the Shellâli natives of Mr. Scott's government surveying party, which by extraordinary good fortune happened to be passing along the eastern desert at the moment. I am glad of this opportunity to express to him our sense of obligation for this effective aid.

Our wreck took place on January 16, and the repairs were completed by the evening of the seventeenth. Although our stores were all reloaded by noon of the eighteenth, the heavy north wind made it impossible to start, and the wind continuing, the evening of the nineteenth found us only three miles north of

the fatal Kagbâr rapid. It was not until noon of the twenty-first that we had made the few miles necessary to reach Dulgo and the temple of Sesebi.

IX. DISCOVERY OF GEM-ATON, IKHNATON'S RELIGIOUS CAPITAL IN UPPER NUBIA

The temple of Sesebi heretofore attributed to Seti I, has long been known, although it lies in the heart of the most inaccessible region of Nubia. It is situated at the foot of the third cataract a few miles below the Kagbâr rapid on the west side of the river, opposite Dulgo, the residence of the mamûr of the district. It is thus separated from the south by the third cataract, and from the north by the long and terrible rapids of the second cataract. It has therefore not often been visited by Europeans. Burckhardt, almost the first European of modern times to penetrate into these regions between the second and third cataract, passed the place in 1813;[13] but as he went up the eastern bank he never saw the temple of Sesebi, or at least makes no reference to it.

In January, 1821, the able Frenchman Cailliaud, in company with Letorzec, reached it on his southward journey, and spent a day there.[14] As he continued southward, he passed several days later, the two Englishmen, Waddington and Hanbury, coming northward on their return journey. The latter two, therefore, arrived at Sesebi eleven days after Cailliaud's visit;[15] so that the Frenchman was the modern discoverer of the temple. Waddington was evidently under the belief that he had discovered the existence of this temple. His brusque treatment of Cailliaud would indicate also some jealousy of the latter's possible achievements in this

[13] Poncet (1698), who gives no account of the monuments in the country, probably never saw Sesebi, and du Roule, who perished in Senaar, of course published no account of his journey (1704). Norden (1738) did not even reach the second cataract, and Bruce, returning from Abyssinia in 1772, did not follow the river here. In 1793 Browne's visit to Dâr-Fûr did not carry him into this region; and Legh (1813) stopped at Ibrim, half way from Assuan to the second cataract.

[14] *Voyage à Meroè, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzoql . . . . à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis; fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822*, par M. Frédéric Cailliaud, de Nantes, Paris, 1826 (2 vols. of plates, 4 vols. of text), Text, Tome I, p. 387.

[15] *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*. By George Waddington, Esq., and the Rev. Barnard Hanbury, London, 1822, pp. 279, 280. Cailliaud states that he reached Sesebi on January 8, and met the Englishmen on the eleventh. Waddington affirms that he met Cailliaud on the fourteenth and arrived at Sesebi on the nineteenth.

region.[16] The Englishman Hoskins, on account of a rebellion among the tribe of the "Mahass," avoided the river at this point. He cut off the bend in the stream, on which our temple is situated, and passed through the desert from Fakîr el-Bent to Soleb on June 3 and 4, 1833. He therefore never saw Sesebi. Eleven years later, on July 4, 1844, the great Prussian, Lepsius visited Sesebi on his way north;[17] but two generations elapsed before it was again the object of research. In 1905 Budge[18] visited the place, and the present writer on behalf of the Oriental Exploration Fund of The University of Chicago spent part of two days there in January, 1907.

The first account of the temple ever published was that of Waddington (*op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff., 320), who accompanies his description by a small plan. For his day, his observations are well made, and accord perfectly with the facts. He also made an attempt to identify the place with the ancient "Aboccis" of Pliny. Cailliaud, who was a good draughtsman, made fuller observations and published a plan of the town, a plan of the temple, a perspective view, and an elevation of one of the columns (*op. cit.*, Planches, Vol. II, Pl. VII–VIII). It is evident from his sketch (Pl. VIII) that the site of the temple was encumbered with much more rubbish in his day than at present. Neither Waddington nor Cailliaud enjoyed a knowledge of hieroglyphics, as the researches of Champollion were published the next year. Nevertheless, Waddington says, that the columns "have been covered with hieroglyphics and figures which are much defaced and worn away by time. I copied three or four which I do not remember to have observed in the temples of Egypt" (*op. cit.*, p. 280). Lepsius was the first visitor with a knowledge of hieroglyphics. He says: "Hier stand ein alter Tempel, von welchem jedoch nur

[16] Of his meeting with Cailliaud and Letorzec in this remote wilderness, Waddington says, "We merely exchanged a few words of civility in passing, and proceeded on our respective destinations with as much indifference as if we had met in the park or on the boulevards" (*op. cit.*, p. 257). Cailliaud states that Waddington refused him information (*op. cit.*, Text, Tome II, pp. 295 f.), and in spite of Cailliaud's later cordial note (*op. cit.*, Text, Tome II, p. 405), the Englishman's above words are not reassuring.

[17] *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai*, von Richard Lepsius Berlin, 1852, p. 256.

[18] *The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols., London, 1907, Vol. I, pp. vii, viii, 440 ff.

noch vier Säulen mit Palmenkapitälen aufrecht stehen; diese tragen die Schilder *Sethos I*, die südlichsten, die uns von diesem Könige begegnet sind" (*Briefe*, p. 256). In his *Denkmäler* (I, 118–19), he furnishes the only good plans, of city and temple, with a fine aquarelle of the ruins (Fig. 35) and an elevation of one of the columns. Since my return to Europe I have had the opportunity of examining the unpublished manuscript of Lepsius' venerable "Tagebuch" of his Nubian voyage, and I find there one of the acute observations we have learned to expect from him. His only remarks on the sculptures, after a description of the columns bearing them, are the following: "Die Mitteltableaus der Säulen sind auch sehr zerstört und alle überschnitten; als dies geschah wurden die Säulen auch mit Kalk überzogen."

Budge visited and examined this temple with the purpose of excavating it. His conclusions as to its origin and value he states thus: "This temple was built by Seti I, king of Egypt about 1370 B.C. . . . . An examination of the ruins of Seti's temple convinced both the inspector and myself that it would be a waste of money to dig there."

Looking southwestward from the hill of Sese at the present day, the temple of Sesebi and its ancient city are lost in the wide plain which stretches far away westward from the Nile (left, Fig. 30), to the distant hills of the Sahara. During the writer's entire stay at Sesebi (from noon of one day until noon of the next), the air was so obscured by flying dust and sand that at no time was the horizon clearly visible. This is evident from the photograph (Fig. 30). The violence of the wind was such that work upon the temple was almost impossible. Our camera ladder was hurled to the ground and broken, and a circle of poles and braces around the camera failed to prevent the agitation of the instrument by the fierce blasts of the tempest. Evidently Lepsius met with a similar experience, for he remarks in his "Tagebuch" (MS, p. 21), "Abdrücke der Inschriften konnten des Windes wegen, nicht gemacht werden." All our photographs here were taken under almost prohibitive difficulties, and indeed it was well nigh impossible even to use a notebook when exposed to the full fury of the wind. One would dodge out from the lee side of a

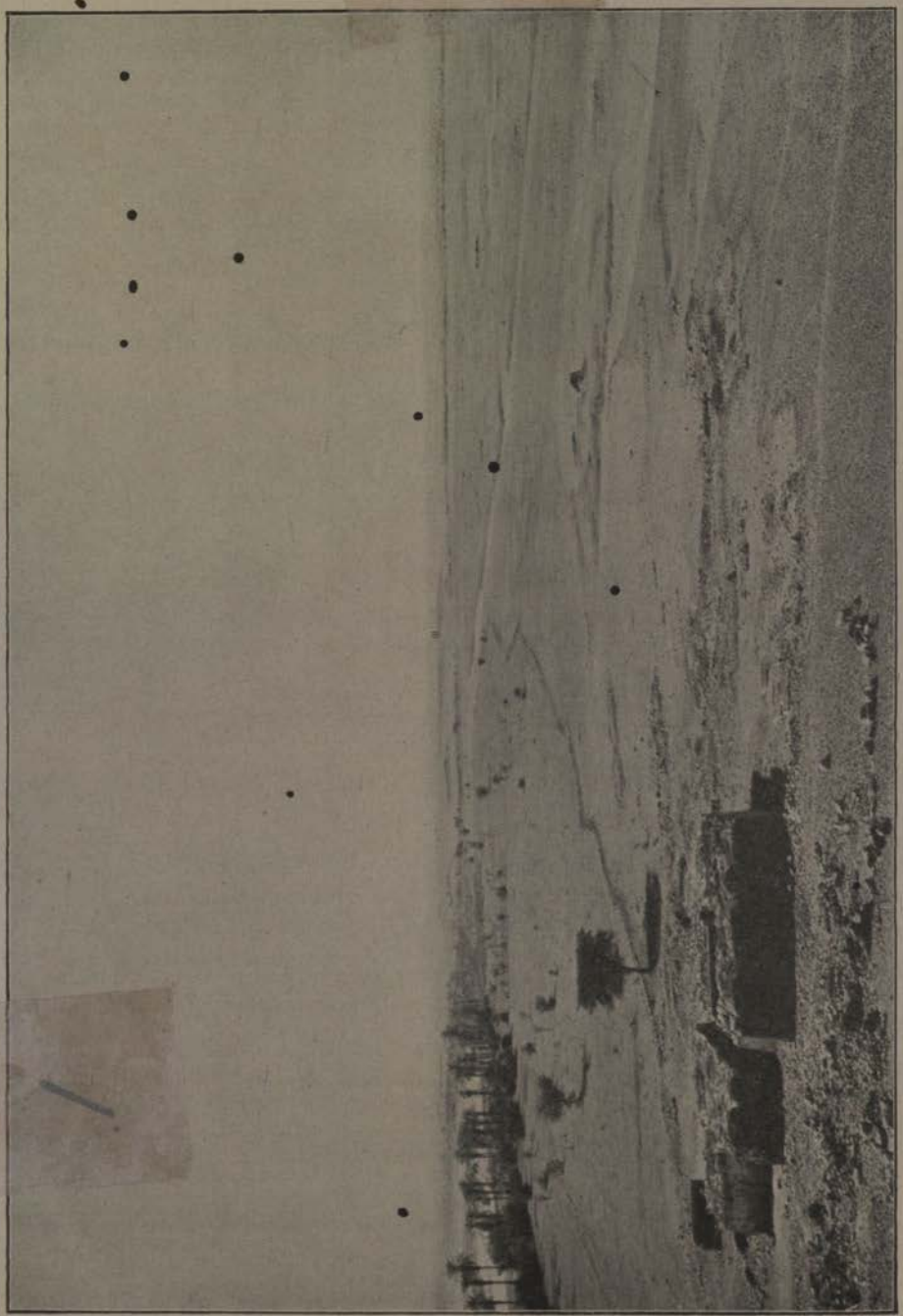


FIG. 30.—Plain of Sesebi Looking Southwest from South Slope of Sese Hill, the Temple Columns and Walls of Gem-Aton Discernible in Center. (Taken in heavy sand-storm.)

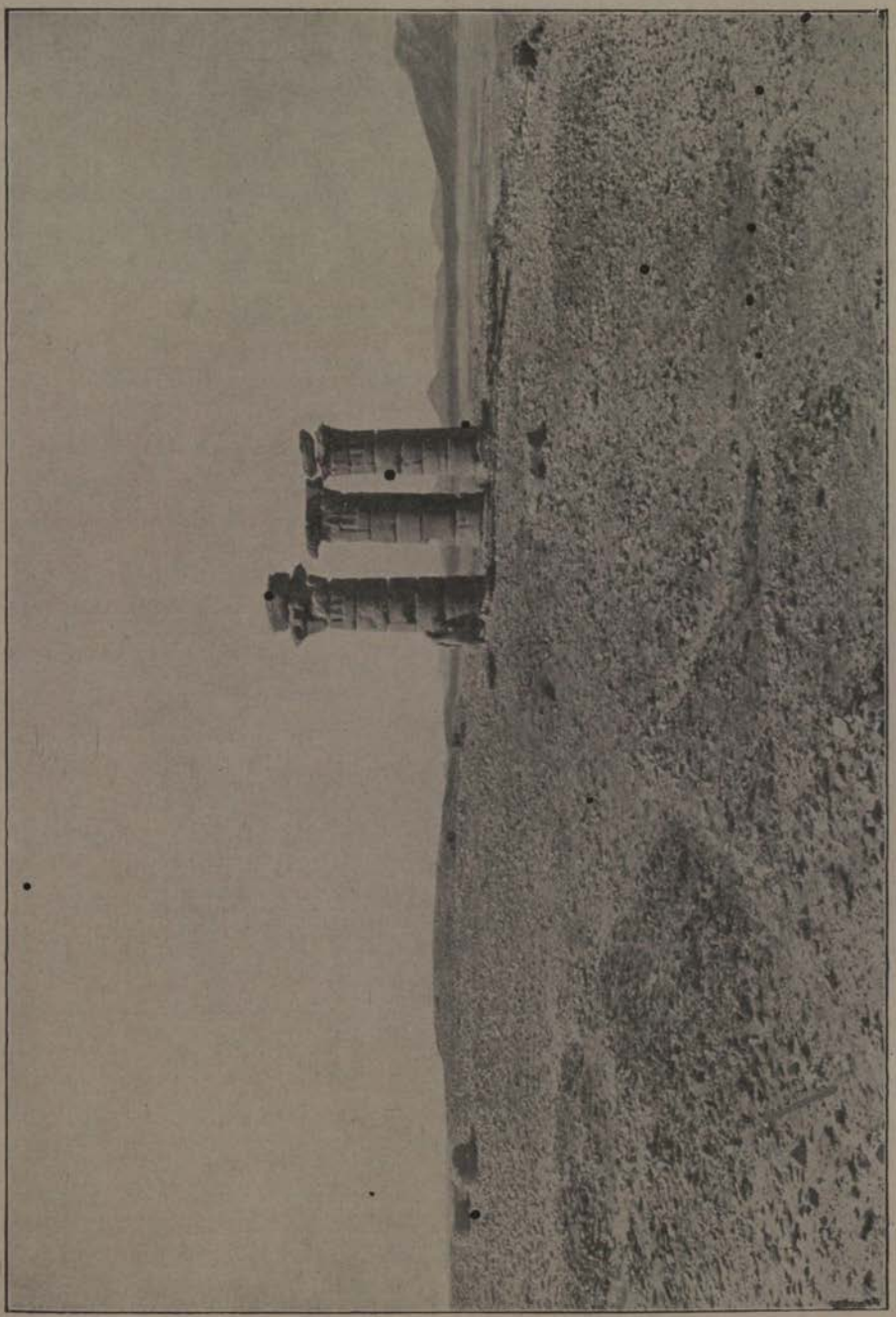


FIG. 31.—General View of Temple of Sesebi from Southeast, Looking Northwest. (Rear of Sese Hill on extreme right.)

column during a momentary lull, make a hurried observation, and hastily beat a retreat to escape a deluge of sand beating like hot cinders in one's face, and record the observation in the wel-

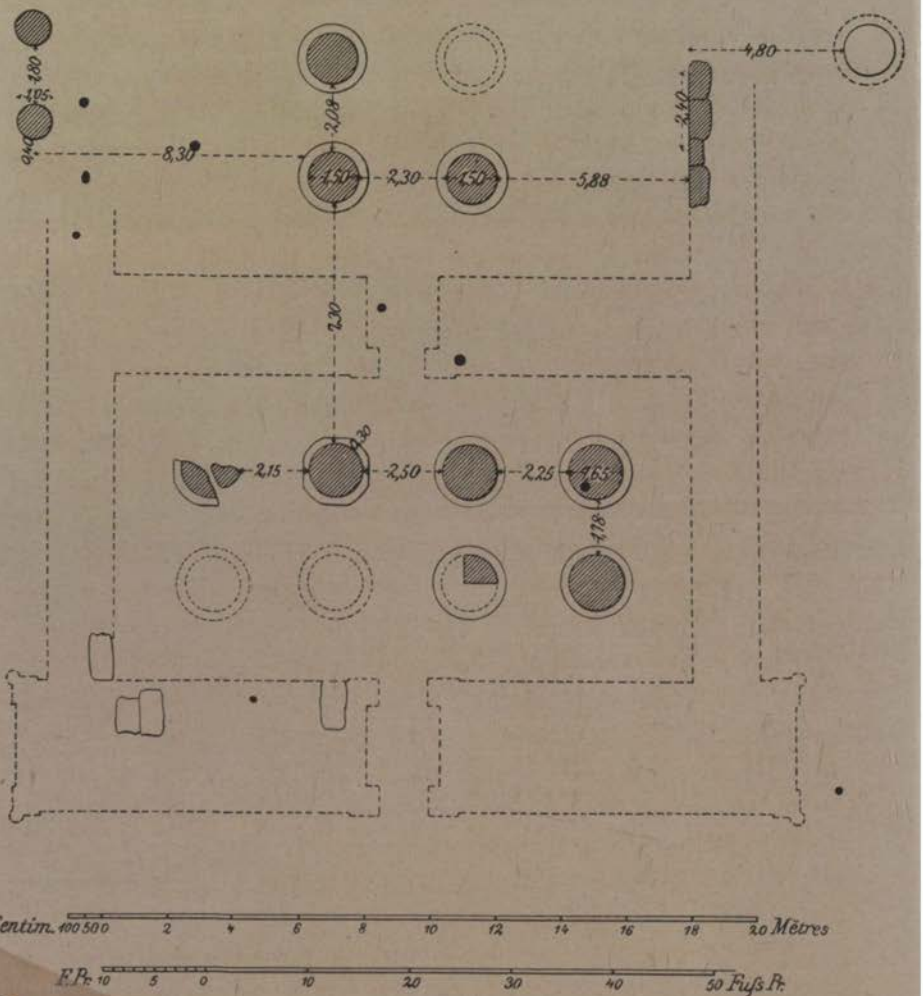


FIG. 32.—Plan of the Temple of Sesebi (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, I, 119).

come shelter of the column. Nor are such winds as these uncommon in Nubia; they blow for days or even weeks at a time with unabated violence, and the quiet intervals usually continue but a few days. In the use of the accompanying photographs, therefore,

the reader is requested to bear these facts in mind. They are not what they would have been under different circumstances.

The temple of Sesebi stands not far from the line of cultivation, about five minutes' walk from the Nile (Fig. 34). It was built of sandstone and its ground plan was about forty meters in length by twenty meters in width. The axis is in a tolerably accurate east-and-west line. The rear portion of the building has disappeared entirely and even in Cailliaud's day only a short section of the lower courses of the north wall was observable. At the present day the exterior walls are nowhere visible, though excavation would doubtless disclose their position. The rapidly falling river forbade our undertaking any clearance of the walls here, much to our regret. The ground plan of the interior at the rear is entirely problematical, but the arrangement of the interior of the front half is clear and was already perceived by Erbkam, Lepsius' architect (see plan, Fig. 32). This portion of the building consisted of two columned halls, one behind the other, each having eight columns in two transverse rows. Those of the rear hall have now disappeared (Fig. 33), though Cailliaud found four bases, of which we could still observe three. In the first hall, three columns of the eight still stand (Figs. 33–35). They are of the second row, which thus lacks only its southernmost column. In Lepsius' day a fourth column in this hall, was still standing (Fig. 35). It was the northernmost in the first row.[19] The arrangement of this temple is therefore unusual and it should be compared with the other temple of the age to which it belongs, just found by Borchardt at Tell el-Amarna. One would expect a court before the first hypostyle, but we could find no traces of it.

Of the relation of the building to the town inclosure we shall speak later. The architecture of the temple is not of the best. The palm columns are all of the same height and there is no clerestory. Their proportions are heavy, being much too thick for their height; the height of the capital approaches a third of the entire height of the column, and they cannot be compared

[19] Small fragments of its capital still lie on the spot. Budge still saw entire drums, and speaks of "inscribed portions of a doorway" (*op. cit.*, p. 441).

FIG. 33.—Sesebi Temple, Looking Northeast across Second Hall to Columns of First Hall. Sese Hill on left. Buildings of Dulgo on east shore between northern (left) and middle columns. (Native's garment blowing in heavy wind.)

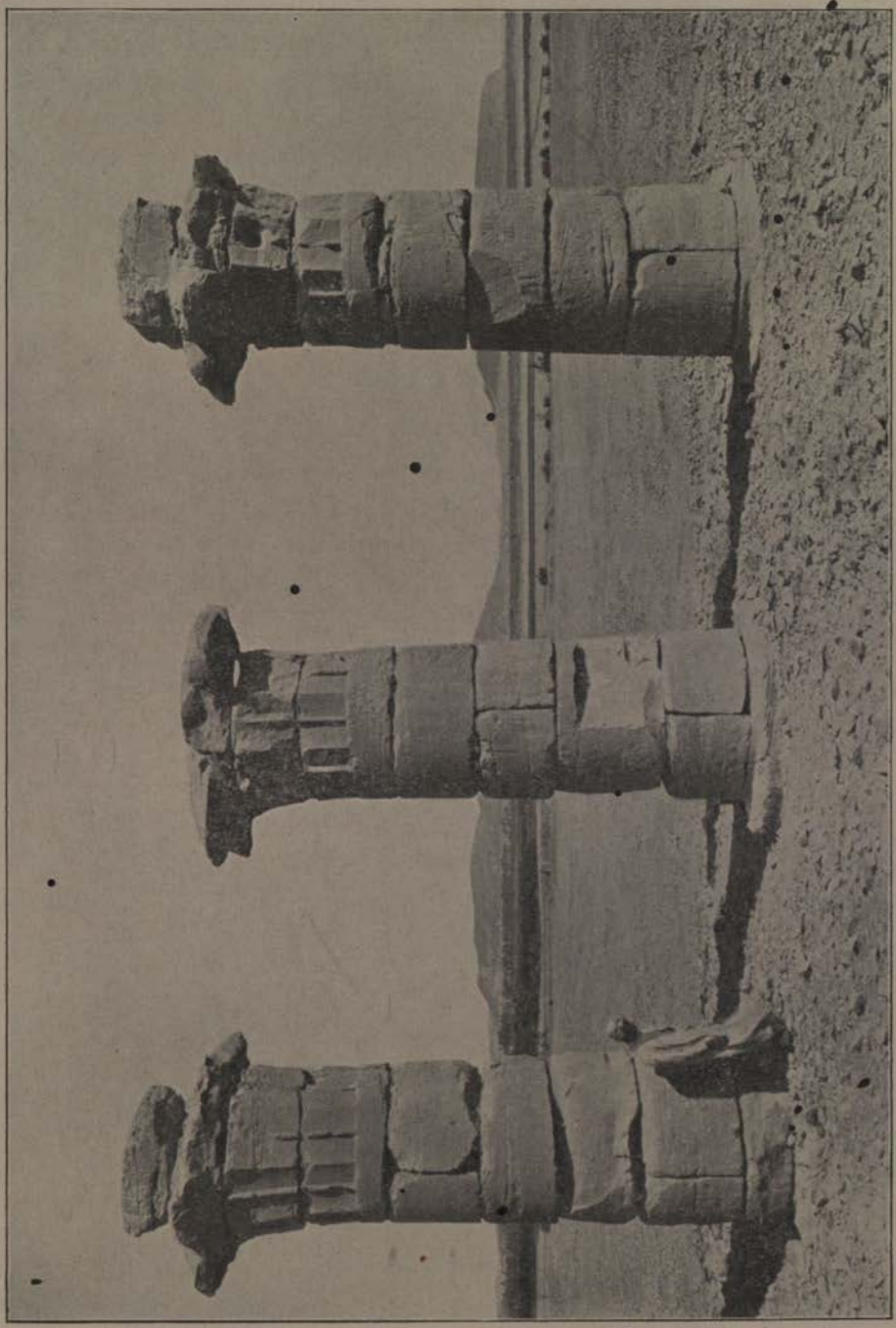


FIG. 34.—Sesebi Temple. Columns of First Hall from West. (Fragments of fourth column recently destroyed are behind northern (left) column; see Fig. 35.) Nile and eastern hills in background.

with the sole palm column still surviving at Soleb. Space will not permit a detailed discussion of the architecture of these columns here.

What excavation may yet disclose cannot be foreseen, but at present the unique and remarkable history of the place can be drawn only from the sculptures and inscriptions on the three surviving columns. These we shall refer to as the northern, southern, and middle columns. The reliefs on the northern and middle columns are on the south side; those of the southern column on the north side. The reliefs on the southern and middle columns thus face each other, and the aisle between them is the middle aisle, as the ground plan shows (Fig 32). They consist of offering scenes in which the king is always at the east, facing west, and the god before him at the west facing east. This shows that the back of the temple was at the west and the front at the east, for such is the direction with reference to front and back, in which the royal and divine figures in such temple reliefs regularly face. It is as if the god were issuing from the holy place in the rear of the temple, to meet the king entering from the front. The king, as Lepsius long ago noted for the first time, is Seti I. He stands with uplifted hands, before a small flower-crowned standard, surmounted by an oblation-vessel, as may best be seen on the middle column (Figs. 38 and 45). An examination of this middle column (Figs. 38, 39, 45, 46) will show the reader clearly the arrangement of all these reliefs, which it is important to follow closely, thus:

The God		The King
⟶	Altar or Standard	⟵

On the contiguous sides of the southern and middle columns, that is, on either side of the central aisle, the divinity to whom Seti offers is naturally the great state-god, Amon.

Having this arrangement clearly in mind, we may now take up each column in succession, beginning with the southern column. Here Amon is accompanied by his name (Fig. *a*), while the name of the king (Fig. 42) is just above the latter's extended arms.

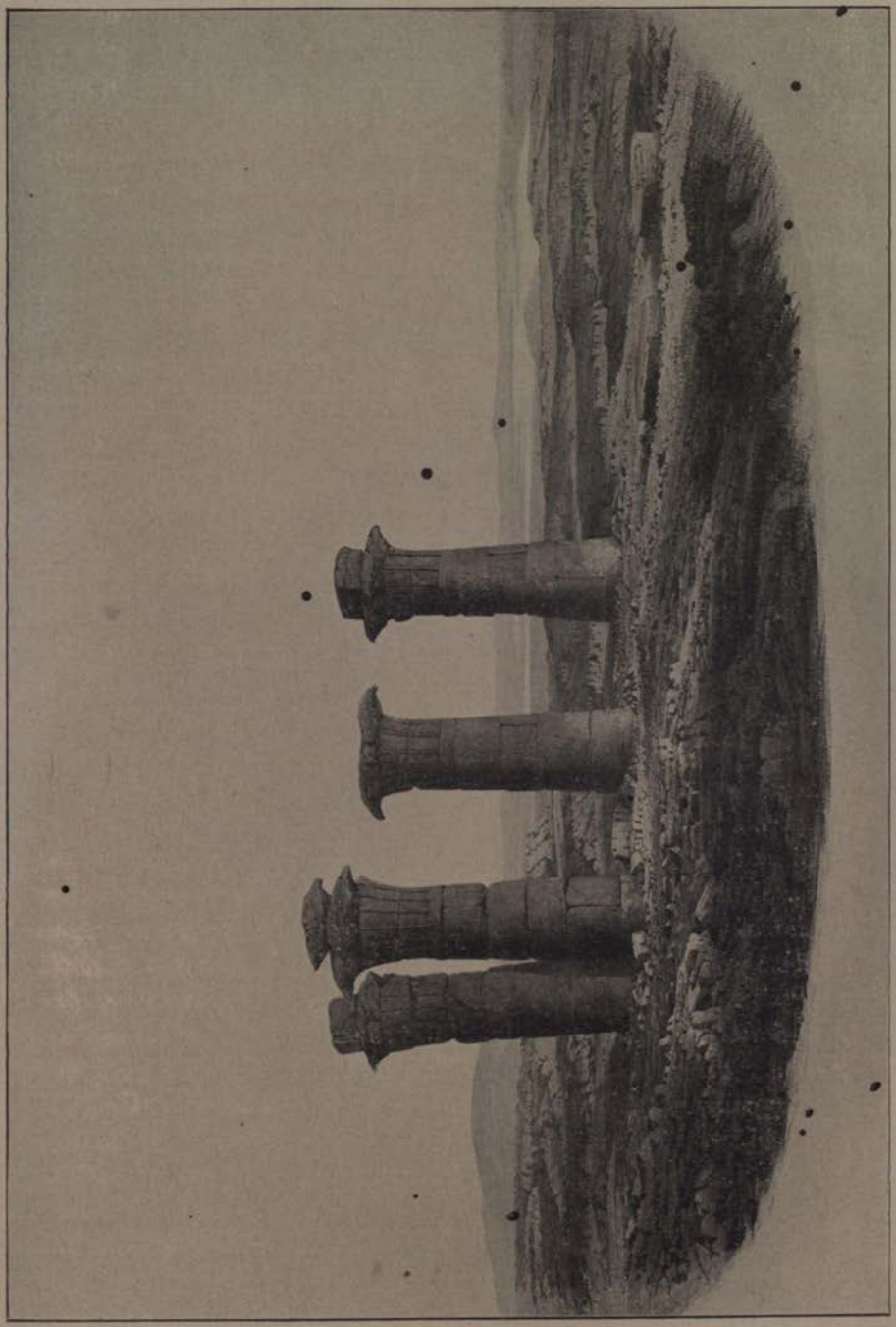


FIG. 35.—Sesebi Temple. Columns of First Hall as seen in 1844 by Lepsius (from *Denkmäler*, I, 118). Column at left, leaning to its fall, has since disappeared (see Fig. 34).

Above the king is a sun-disk adorned with the suspended serpent, over which is the band of heaven, extending clear across the relief (Figs. 36, 37, and 42). Both the figures, of god and of king, have suffered much. The king's extended arms, the head of the god, and his upper figure are still preserved. Behind the king was a pair of cartouches of large size, of course also containing his name. These were surmounted each by a pair of large feathers, of which only the tops now survive (Figs. 37 and 42). This style of cartouch is common on temple columns and on scarabs from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward. The formulae of offering and the promises of the god, usual in such reliefs, are lost in the middle of the lower half of the scene, on each side of the offering standard. (See Fig. 37.) Behind Amon was the figure of Mut, but it has completely disappeared except the spiral wire belonging to her crown (Fig. *a*) and faintly visible behind Amon's tall feathers. Her name is also visible by the top of the feathers (Fig. *a*).

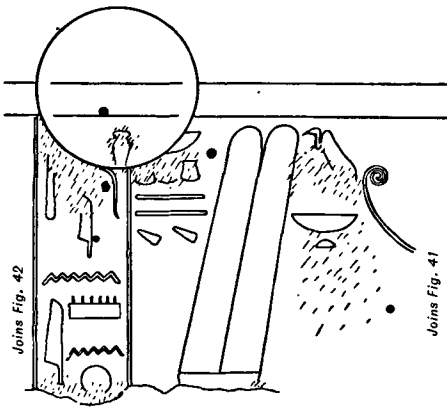


FIG. *a*.—Southern Column, right half, names of Amon and Mut.

FIG. *b*

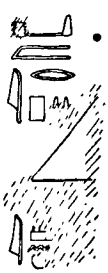


FIG. *c*

The relief on the middle column (Figs. 38, 39) is better preserved. It is precisely like that on the southern column. Of the king's figure on the right only one elbow of the uplifted arm, and the pointed front of the royal kilt, are preserved (Fig. 45). Over his head is the sun-disk hung with the sacred serpent, and the sign of life. His name above his extended arm, is here better preserved (Fig. 45). The name of the god (Fig. *b*) has entirely fallen off except at the end. Under the king's arm is the designation of the cultus act, which he is performing. It is interrupted by the point of the royal kilt, which runs out into it (Fig. *c*).

FIG. 36.—Sesebi Temple. Right Side of Palimpsest Relief on Southern Column. Expunged figure of Ikhnaton in middle. (Compare Fig. 41.)

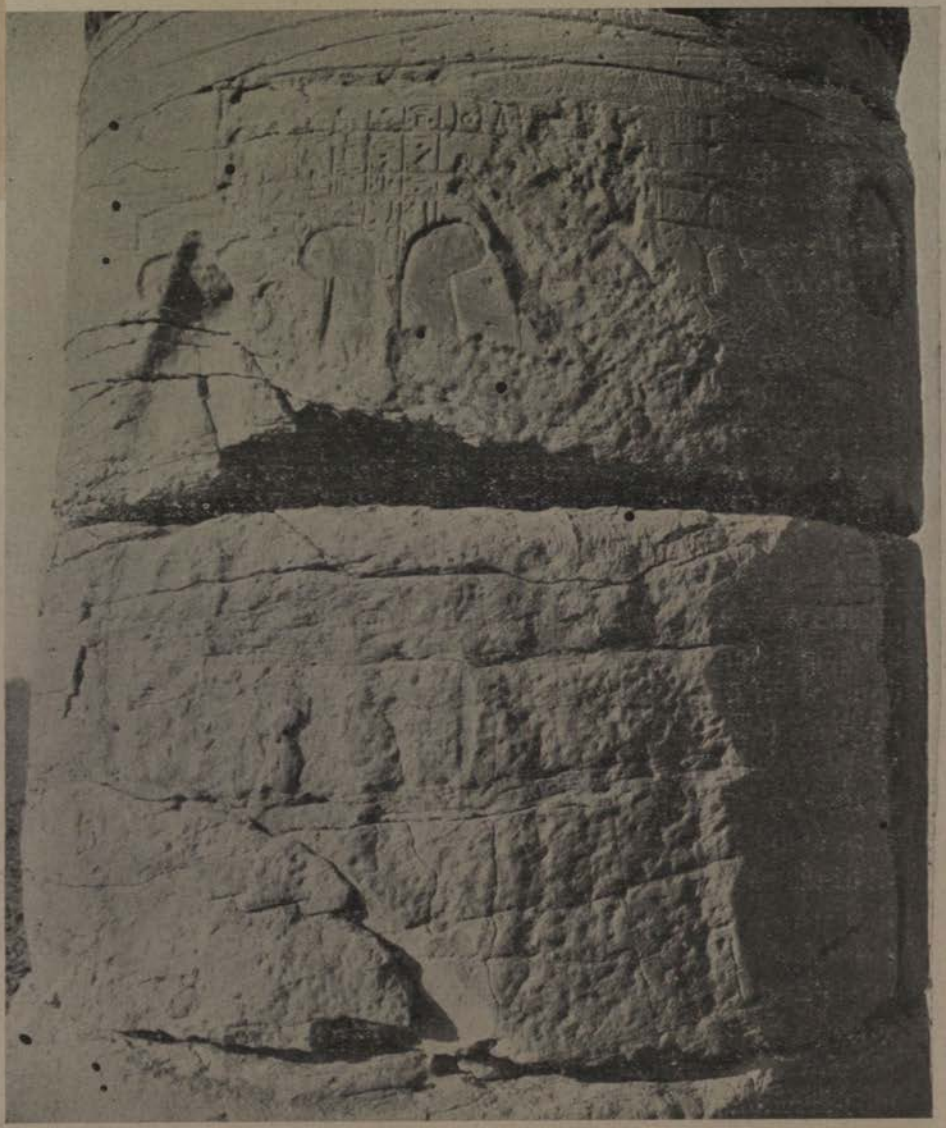


FIG. 37.—Sesebi Temple. Left End of Relfie on Southern Column. At top titles of Ikhnaton's queen. (See Fig. 42.)

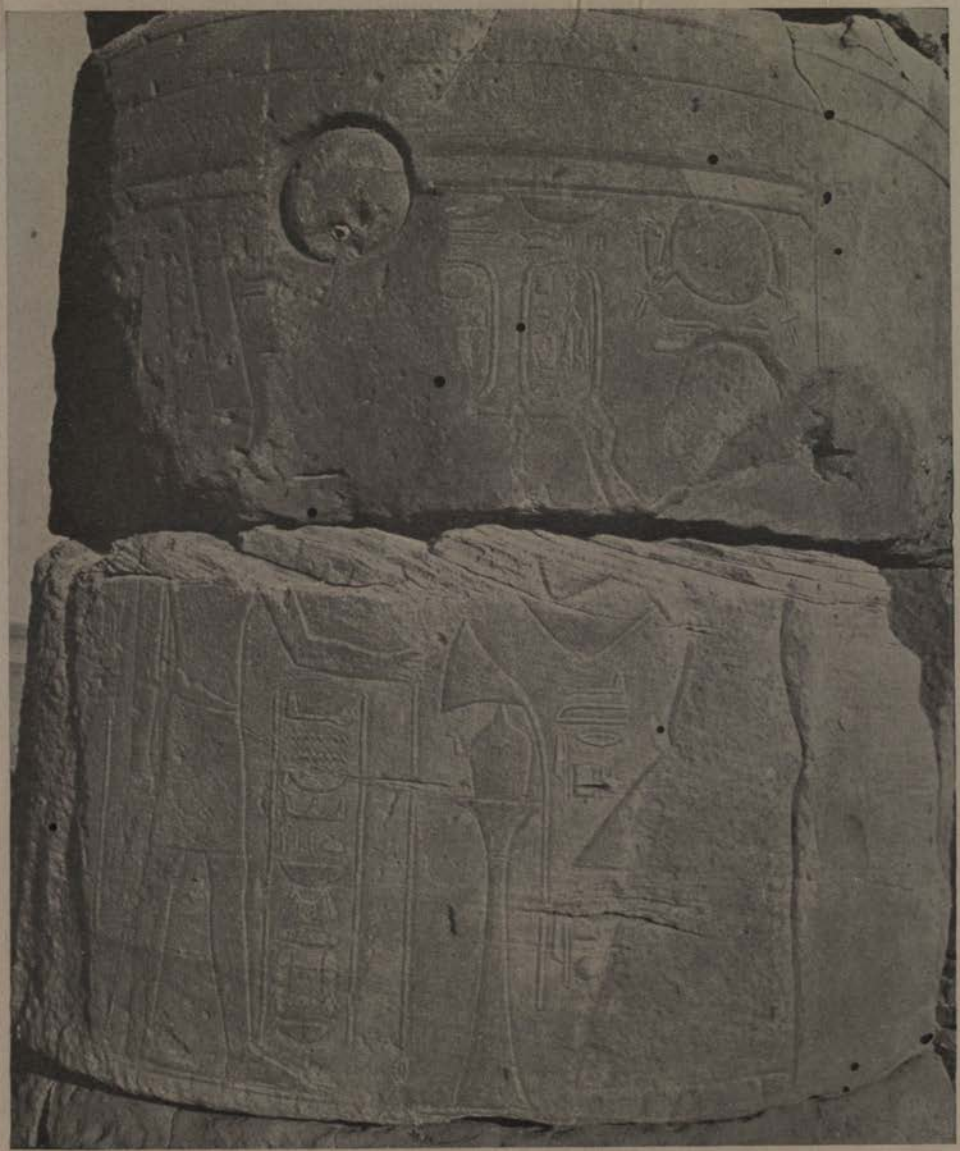


FIG. 38.—Sesebi Temple. Right Half of Relief on Middle Column. (Compare Fig. 45.)

The heaven-band above the king's head, stops just there (Fig. 45), showing that there was no pair of large cartouches behind him, corresponding to those on the southern column (Fig. 37). A single column of text under the god's arm contains one of the conventional promises. Behind Amon, who faces the right with extended scepter, was the figure of Ptah or Osiris (Fig. 45), but only his two hands grasping the scepter have survived. The beginning of his speech (Fig. *d*) is all that has been preserved. The heaven-band stopped just behind him, including no more than his figure.

FIG. *d*

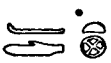


FIG. *e*

The northern column (Fig. 40) has preserved little of the relief scene. Seti I on the right was offering wine to Khnum on the left. Over the king are his two cartouches and the serpent-hung sun-disk, as on both the other columns. Thesun-disk bears the familiar designation (Fig. *e*). The king was accompanied by his *ka*-figure, a smaller male figure, standing beside him surmounted by the titles (Fig. *f*).

Under the god's arm is the designation of the cultus-act (Fig. *g*). This statement that the wine is offered to Amon-Re is doubtless a hasty error on the part of the scribe, for the inscription (Fig. *h*) over the god shows that he was Khnum.

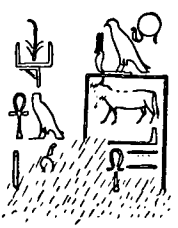


FIG. *f*.—*Ka*-titles of Seti I on Northern Column.

FIG. *g*

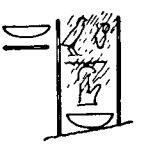


FIG. *h*.—Titles of God Khnum on Northern Column.

In this rapid survey of Seti I's reliefs the reader will probably have been disturbed by intrusive figures. There is a noticeably intrusive symbol on all three columns. It generally breaks into the royal ovals of Seti I, and is so large that it may be seen at a distance (Fig. 31, on two further columns). I refer to the deeply cut disk at the top in the center of Seti's reliefs. Beginning to make a record of Seti's reliefs I first attacked the southern

FIG. 39.—Sesebi Temple. Left End of Relief on Middle Column. (Compare Figs. 38 and 45.)

FIG. 40.—Sesebi Temple. Right Half of Relief on Northern Column.

column. I was immediately greatly puzzled by this disk. It seemed to have been cut after Seti's inscriptions, as it so sharply interrupts them. But, when I considered its position on the other columns, and perceived that it was in all three cases in the middle

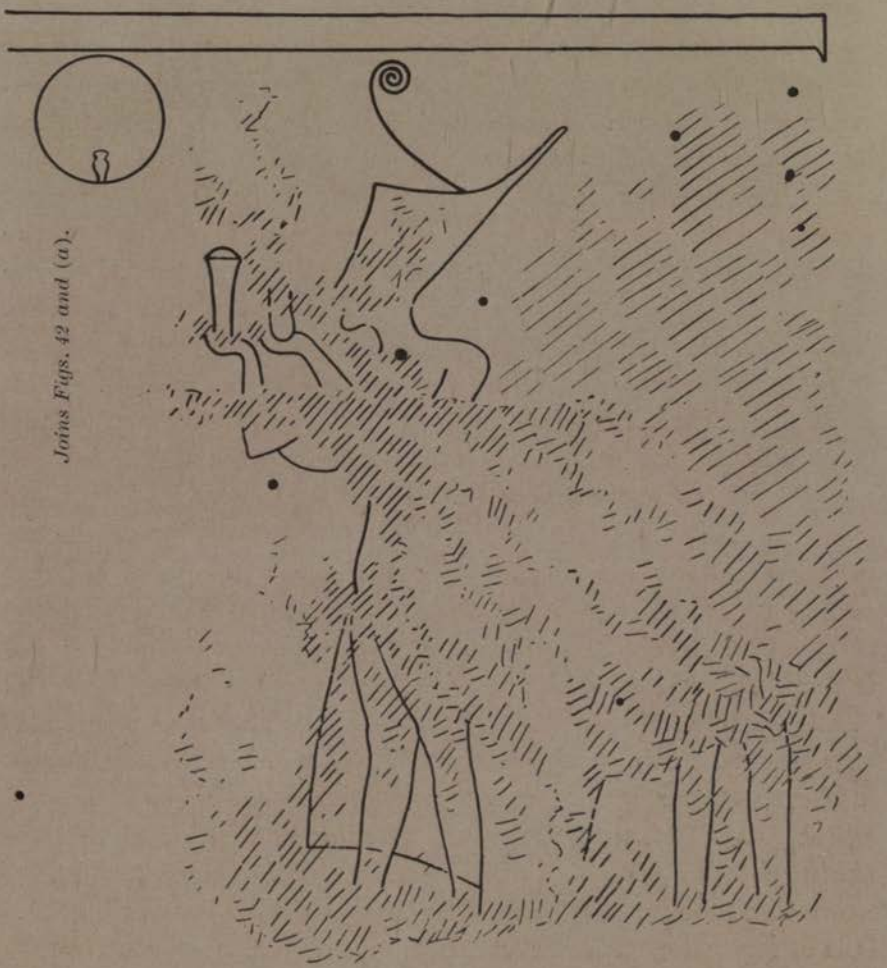


FIG. 41.—Expunged Figure of Ikhnaton behind Amon on Southern Column (Right end; compare Fig. 36).

of the side facing the middle aisle, I conjectured that it was one of the deeply cut sun-disks appearing at the top in the middle of Ikhnaton's adoration scenes, and that such scenes had once stood where we now find those of Seti I. I added the mental reservation that I would never be able to prove the conjecture, and would

never think of publishing it. This was during the first five minutes of work. I went on with an examination of the southern column. Having passed from the figure of Amon at the right, to that of the other supposed divinity standing behind him, I was endeavoring to discern the head, when I was suddenly confronted by the familiar outlines of Ikhnaton's figure, dimly discernible through the barbarous chisel marks of intentional expunction. All the peculiar and unmistakable lines were there. I glanced at the other columns, now knowing where to look and what to look for. He was there on all the others also. These were palimpsest columns, and this was a temple of the great revolutionary, the first and only one known in Nubia. Indeed, they were then the only surviving monuments of his thus far discovered in Nubia. Furthermore, no other columns of the great heretic anywhere, whether in Egypt or Nubia, have escaped destruction. It is therefore imperative to demonstrate beyond all doubt that he was their builder and the author of the reliefs, over which those of Seti I have been superimposed.

The southern column, as Figs. 36 and 37 show, has at the top of the relief, two heaven-bands: one directly above the deeply cut sun-disk[20] in the middle, extends on the right far beyond the limits of Seti's relief; the second (lower down) cuts directly across the sun-disk and extends on the left far beyond the other band, clearly visible above it (Figs. 36 and 42). This lower band also cuts across a crown of Lower Egypt at the right, which terminates under the upper band. It will probably be clear in the photograph (Fig. 36), that the figure wearing this crown is that of Ikhnaton, with his protruding chin, his oblique neck, and his crown tilted too far back—all barbarously chiseled away (Fig. 41). It is at any rate evident that this figure is not original to Seti's relief, in which the goddess Mut once occupied the place behind Amon. The curled spiral wire (Fig. *a*) of her crown (like that of Ikhnaton) extends obliquely upward from Ikhnaton's nose. This is clear on the original and also in the photographic negative. Ikhnaton's hands are uplifted before him, each bearing a tall ointment jar (Fig. 41) which he is offering to his god. His god

[20] From here on, "sun-disk" refers exclusively to the deeply cut disk of Ikhnaton; not to the disk over Seti's head.

is of course the deeply cut sun-disk before him. The heaven-band above Ikhnaton extends quite beyond him, on the right (Fig. 36), making room behind him for another figure under it. This is of course his queen, who never fails to accompany him in such scenes elsewhere. Her legs can be discerned behind him below the large vacancy left by the piece which has flaked off. (See also Fig. 34, right-hand column). On the left (Fig. 37) the heaven-band of Seti I is interrupted by the chiseling away of Ikhnaton's crown, the oblique lines of which can still be followed (Fig. 42). Over

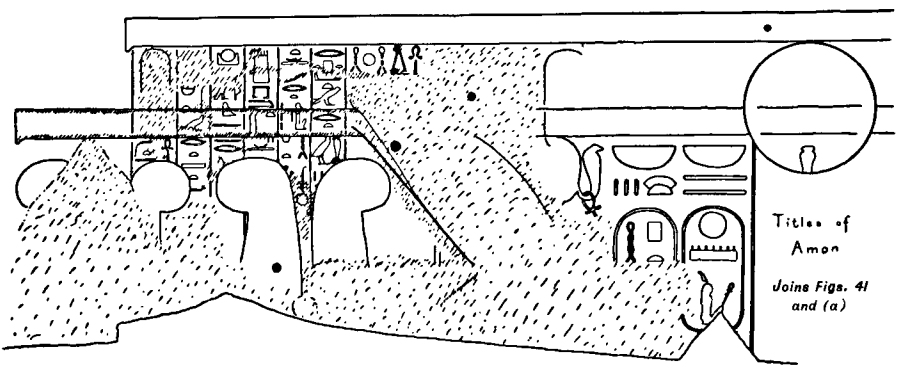


FIG. 42.—Southern Column, left side, upper portion of relief, showing titles of Queen Nofretete, crown of Ikhnaton and two heaven-bands, one across disk of Ikhnaton.

the upper end of the crown, *above* Seti's heaven-band (that is, outside of the limits of his relief, Fig. 42), is the conclusion of the usual formulae following a king's name. At the right of the mutilated crown is a fragment of the royal oval once containing the king's name. We thus have here again the figure of Ikhnaton facing his god, but mutilated from head to foot beyond recognition, if other evidence were not obtainable for identifying it. Just as on the right, the heaven-band above Ikhnaton here on the left, extends out behind him far enough to cover another figure, and fortunately we have here inscriptional evidence to determine whom it represented. In six columns extending directly across Seti I's heaven-band are the name and titles of Nofretete, Ikhnaton's queen. They have been cut into at the bottom by the large feathers rising from the cartouches of Seti I, lost below. They are as follows (Fig. 42): "Hereditary princess, great in favor,

plenteous in love, queen of South and North, ... the palace, customary . . . . embracing (?) . . . . (?) great king's wife, his beloved, [Nofretete], living forever."

It is thus clear that the original relief on this column was arranged as follows (Fig. 43):

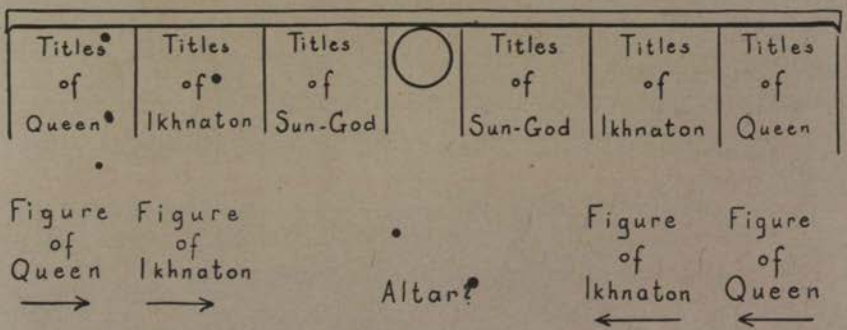


FIG. 43.—Diagram showing Arrangement of Ikhnaton's Expunged Reliefs at Sesebi.

The altar cannot now be traced, but must of course have occupied the center as often at Amarna (Fig. 44). Traces of a vessel sitting on the altar are probable on the middle column. There is no room behind the queen for any of the daughters appearing so commonly at Amarna.

When this column was appropriated by Seti I, his sculptors chiseled out the reliefs of Ikhnaton as far as possible, but the royal figures and especially the sun-disk were too deeply cut to be completely erased, while some of the smaller things, like the titles of Ikhnaton's queen were overlooked or neglected. When the work of erasure and destruction was complete, the defaced surface of the column was filled out, patched, and smoothed with stucco. The reliefs of Seti were then sculptured upon this new surface, partially in the hard stucco patching, partially in the sandstone of the column. Fresh coloring over the whole concealed the stucco patching, and the fraud was only discernible when the colors had disappeared and the weather of centuries had loosened all the stucco till the last vestige of it had fallen out, carrying with it large portions of Seti's reliefs and inscriptions and in places causing their complete disappearance. Thus it is that his cartouches,

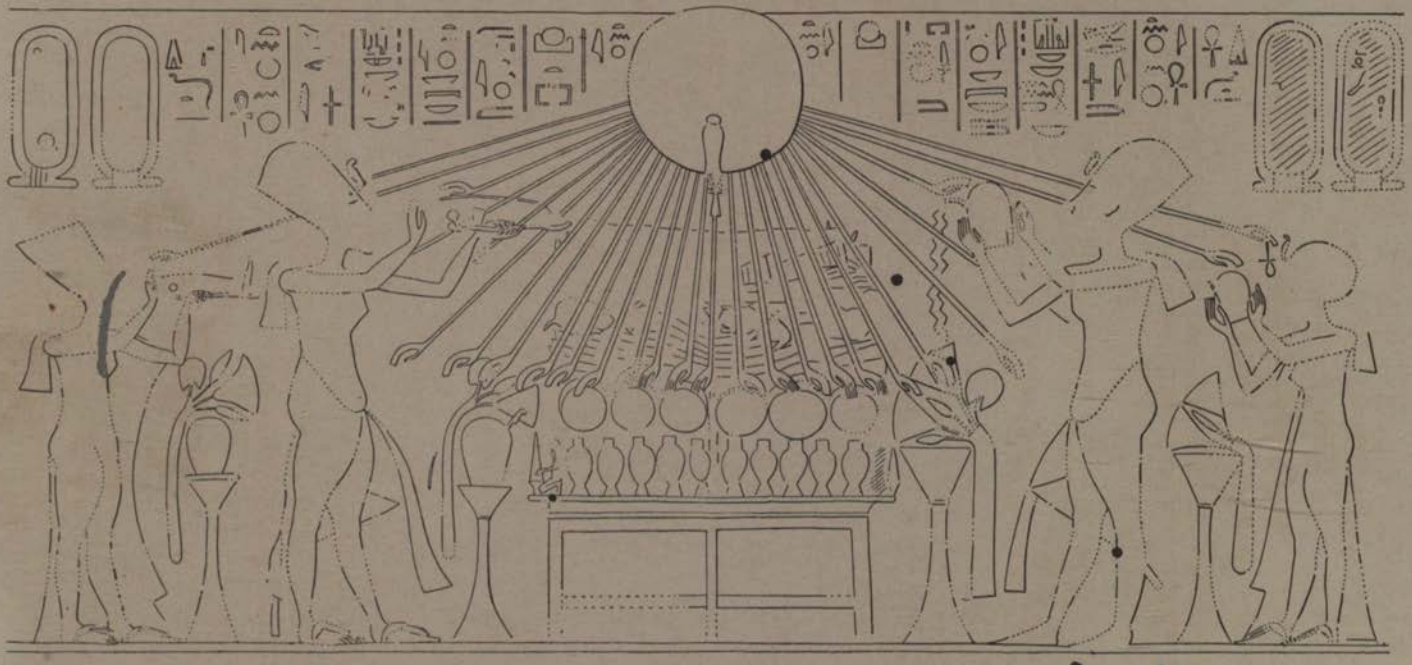


FIG. 44.—Amarna Relief showing Ikhnaton and Queen Worshiping the Sun-disk.

of the name of his god, are now cut into by Ikhnaton's sun-disk, producing the impression that the sun-disk is a later insertion, defacing the reliefs of Seti I. Likewise the figure of Seti himself generally falls almost directly over that of Ikhnaton, so that his *dis*appearance, when the stucco fell out involved the *re*appearance of Ikhnaton's form. It is important to recall, at this point, that in Egypt, it is precisely Seti I who so often records his restoration of the iconoclastic work of Ikhnaton.[21] It is therefore just what we should expect, when we find him here undoing the work of Ikhnaton in Nubia.

On the middle column the reliefs of Ikhnaton are not less unmistakable. Seti I's heaven-band has again been carried directly through the sun-disk which now interrupts it (Fig. 45). The position of Seti's figure on the right (as he offers wine to Amon on the left) is determined by his cartouches, and the inscription describing the cultus act (see *c* above), which is regularly below the extended arms of the offering king. One of Seti's elbows can be seen (Fig. 45) above this inscription (*c*), and the inscription itself is interrupted by the pointed front of Seti's royal kilt, as we have noted above. All the rest of Seti's figure was cut into the stucco, which has fallen off disclosing the familiar lines of Ikhnaton's form. The characteristic profile (Figs. 45, 46) with the protruding chin, unlike that of any other king, is complete with the exception of the lips. Above Seti's one discernible elbow, appear both of Ikhnaton's arms, uplifted in prayer to the sun-disk before him (Fig. 45). The contour of his form, especially the prominent abdomen, above the long skirt, is very characteristic. The front of the skirt projects into the inscription (*c*) under Seti's arm. The heaven-band above him extends far enough to the right to include another figure, and at the extreme right, above the space for this figure is a royal oval, which once of course contained the name of Ikhnaton's queen, as on the southern column, at the extreme left, where her titles terminate in a cartouch in exactly the corresponding position under the end of the heaven-band. Behind Amon on the left the pendant figure of Ikhnaton was stuccoed over and the sculptors of

[21] See my *Ancient Records*, II. § 878.

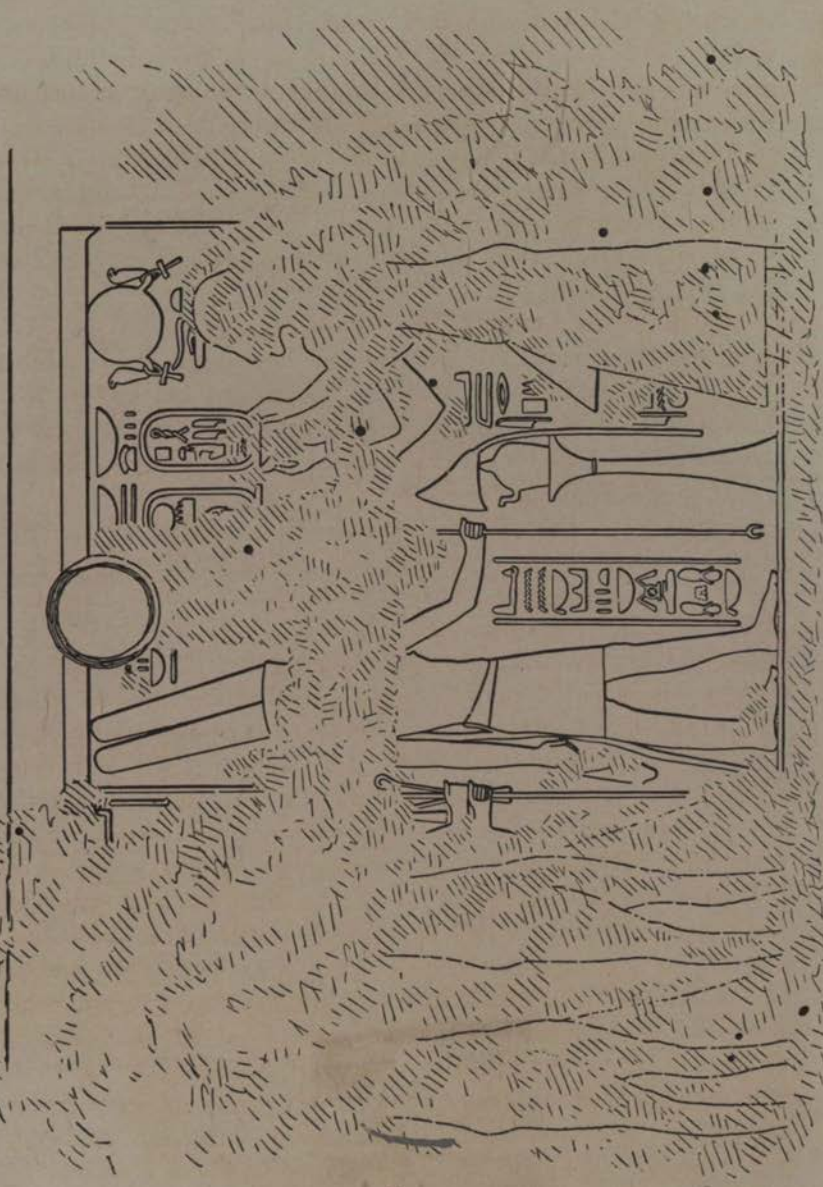


FIG. 45.—Reliefs on Middle Column. Those of Seti I heavy lines; those of Ikhnaton lighter lines.

FIG. 46.—Sesebi Temple. Head of Ikhnaton from Relief on Middle Column.
(See Figs. 38 and 45.)

Seti I cut over it the figure of Osiris or Ptah (Fig. 45) as we have already noticed; but the stucco, having now fallen off, only the hands of the god grasping his insignia are preserved, while the general outline of Ikhnaton's expunged figure is disclosed to view. That of his queen behind him also comes out clearly in an oblique light, so that it is discernible even at a distance of thirty yards, as in Fig. 33 (middle column). It becomes quite evident that the original relief of Ikhnaton, was also here arranged as we have found it on the southern column, first examined (see Fig. 43).

The northern column (Fig. 40) leads to a like conclusion. Here, however, the weather and the more thorough expunction have almost completely obliterated the reliefs of Ikhnaton. The deeply cut sun-disk is of course evident, but of Ikhnaton's figure on this side (right) one discerns only the abdomen, the posterior and the long kilt, across which extends the arm of Seti I's *ka*-figure. The pendant figures of Ikhnaton and his queen on the left, have quite disappeared.

Around the bases of the southern and middle columns is a line of captives like those at Soleb, showing clearly the style of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Those on the north side of the nave are Asiatics, and those on the south negroes. These are clearly the untouched, original sculptures of Ikhnaton.

It is quite evident that we have here a colonnaded temple hall, of which the original author was the great revolutionary Ikhnaton. His reliefs show every characteristic of his monotheistic period, and it cannot be doubted that the building was a sun-temple built by him, the only one from this remarkable man's reign of which any portion is still standing. His reign, after the inauguration of his solar monotheism, continued only ten to twelve years, and in such remote and inaccessible regions of Nubia, it is inconceivable that he could have in so short a time, erected any number of temples to his exclusive god. The reader will recall also that in the inscriptions just one sanctuary of Aton in Nubia is known to us. In the itinerary of king Nastesen, given on his Berlin stela, dating not long after 525 B. C., a town called Gm-Ytn is visited by the king. Schaefer had located this town in the vicinity of the Third Cataract, on the basis of the refer-

ences to it by Nastesen.[22] Not long after this the present writer called attention to the fact that in a Theban tomb the sun-temple of Ikhnaton at Thebes bears the name Gm-Ytn.[23] It immediately became evident that the Nubian Gm-Ytn must have been a sun-city and sanctuary founded and named by Ikhnaton, a foundation like that of el-Amarna, its purpose in Nubia being of course like that of el-Amarna in Egypt. When one recalls, that without any prepossessions as to the character or origin of the place, Schaefer had located it in the vicinity of the third cataract, and that we have now found a sun-temple of Ikhnaton at the foot of the third cataract, it becomes evident that our newly found sun-temple of Sesebi is the ancient Gm-Ytn.[24]

It is presumable that the wall at present inclosing the place, is the wall of Ikhnaton, and that the town which he laid out was no larger. To him who has observed how extremely limited was the settlement around so splendid a temple as that of Soleb, this limited extent of Ikhnaton's town will not seem strange. These Nubian state sanctuaries were but garrisoned strongholds, of limited area, in one corner of which stood the temple. Kummeh and Semneh are typical examples in the Middle Kingdom. Under the Empire it was not different, and Soleb is officially always called: "Stronghold (mnnw) of Khammat (Ḫ'-m-m''t)." Likewise, Sedëinga, but a few miles from Soleb was called "Stronghold of Tiy." Naturally the sun-temple erected by the successor of the builder of Soleb and Sedëinga would not differ from these latter places in this respect.

The temple therefore, facing the rising sun as we should expect, stands in the northwest corner of a stronghold also oriented to

[22] *Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, von Heinrich Schaefer, Leipzig, 1901.

[23] *Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache*, 40, 106 ff.

[24] As the god of the place was in later times "Amon of Gm-Ytn," it might be expected that Seti I's reliefs should mention "Amon of Gm-Ytn." But a moment's reflection will show that the name "Gm-Ytn" was certainly *not* preserved in the official documents of the times immediately following the overthrow of Ikhnaton. This is inconceivable. Its name was of course changed by the government; and the old name lived on only in the mouths of the people. Thence at last grew up the term "Amon of Gm-Ytn;" and long after the revolution of Ikhnaton was forgotten, this name of this Nubian Amon gained official recognition. It never occurs in the Nubian inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The earliest known occurrence of the name is in Tirhaka's temple at Gebel Barkal (Napata), where Tirhaka is represented as worshiping "Amon of Gm-Ytn" in one of the side-chapels.

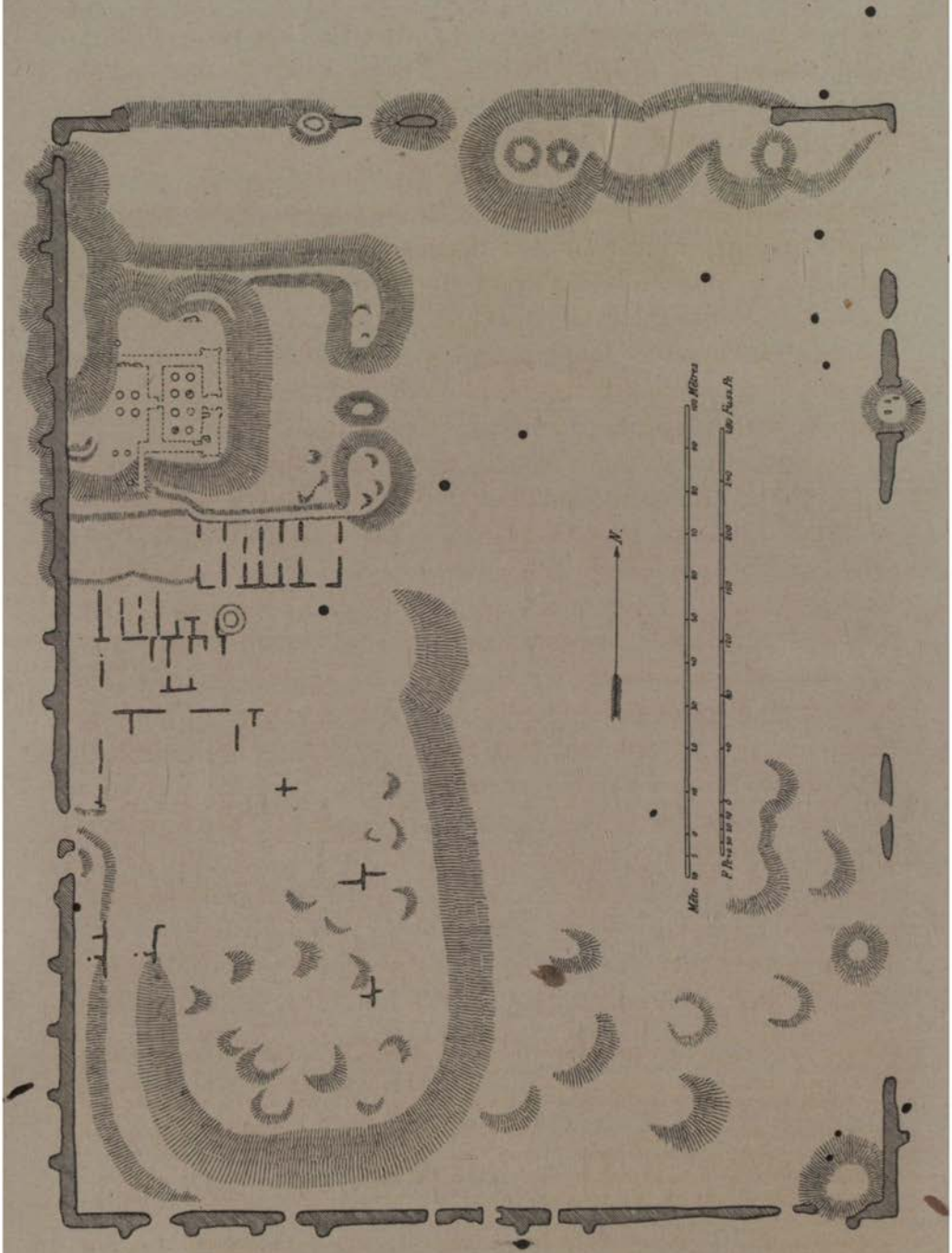


FIG. 47.—Plan of the City of Gem-Aton (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, I, 119).

the cardinal points. The building, like the temples of Kummeh and Semneh, engaged in the wall of the fortress on two sides. This fortress contained the ancient town, which was therefore, like the settlements of Soleb and Sedëinga, of very limited extent. The annexed plan (Fig. 47) will indicate roughly its shape and dimensions, which may be compared also with the accompanying view (Fig. 48). The walls are about 7.50 meters thick, and the southern gate is about 2.25 m. in width. Most of the east wall is down and I could find no gate in it or the north wall. The bricks measure $10 \times 16 \times 36$ cm. The river was falling so rapidly at this time that our departure was imperative, and we could not explore the neighboring country, as I should have been glad to do. We scanned the surrounding hills carefully with glasses in search of the quarries from which the stone for the temple was taken, but could not discover them. They might have yielded a building inscription, like that of Ikhnaton at Silsileh, and furnished us some further clue to the character of his Nubian city and temple.

The origin of the place is therefore evident and in the main its early history clear. Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) in his unparalleled religious revolution about 1370 B. C., sought to bring his whole empire under the dominion of one god.[25] As the new religious and political capital in Egypt he founded Akhet-Aton (Tell el-Amarna). But the same must be done for the foreign possessions of the empire, adjacent Asia and Nubia, for as the king sang to his god in,

> The countries of Syria and Nubia,
> The land of Egypt,
> Thou settest every man in his place.

Of the Syrian city or temple which he must have founded we know nothing; but in Nubia he erected at the foot of the third cataract our temple, now called Sesebi, and built with it a walled town. He named the place Gem-Aton (Gm-Yton), after the sanctuary of his god Aton, already existent at Thebes.[26] The religious character of the place as a seat of the sun-god Aton, was thus made evident in the name. At the fall of Ikhnaton the Aton-temple at Amarna, as well as all the other Aton-sanctuaries throughout

[25] On all this cf. my remarks in *Zeitschrift für aegypt. Sprache*, XL, 106 ff.

[26] *Ancient Records*, II, 942.

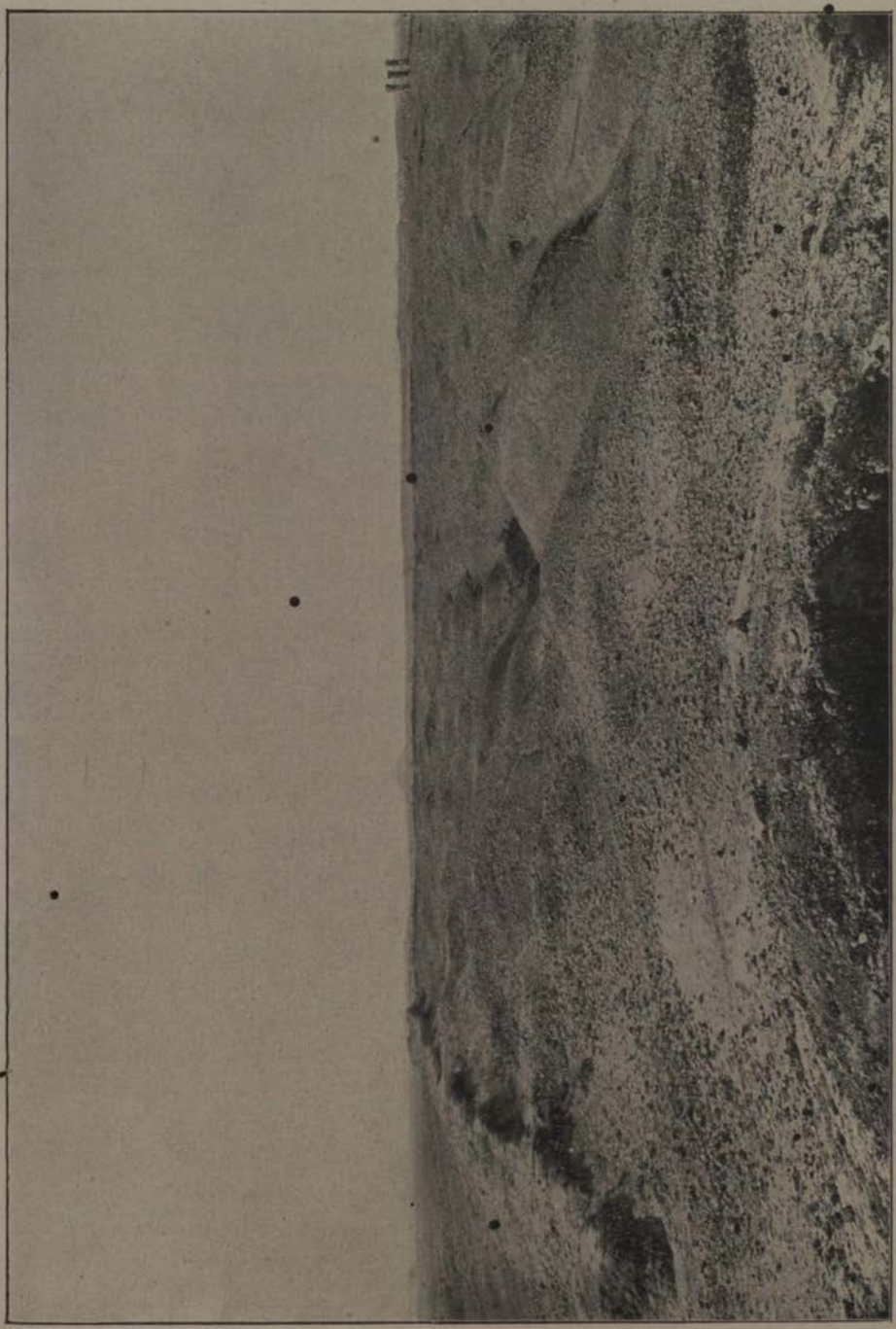


FIG. 48.—General View of Southwest Half of Ikhnaton's Town at Sesebi, Looking Northwest from Southeast Corner. Ruins of houses visible under rubbish.

Egypt were destroyed, and their fragments have occasionally been found built into temples of Ikhnaton's successors. In distant Nubia, however, the temple of Gem-Aton was at a safe remove from the wrath of Ikhnaton's enemies. It escaped the first outburst, and survived through the reign of Harmhab. The people continued to call it Gem-Aton, and fifty years after the death of Ikhnaton, the officials of Seti I found it, still bearing its heretical reliefs and inscriptions, representing the now detested Ikhnaton and his queen, worshiping Aton in his temple. But they did not destroy it as in Egypt. Here, as at the neighboring Soleb, they hacked out the hated sculptures of the heretic, and covering up all trace of them with stucco, they wrought new sculptures on the columns and walls, depicting Seti I worshiping Amon. The place then became a temple of Aton's rival Amon. Its new official name we do not know. The people still continued to call it Gem-Aton. Long afterward when the odium attaching to this name was forgotten, it gained recognition as the official name of the place. In the reign of Tirhaka, nearly seven hundred years after Ikhnaton's revolution we find the town still mentioned, and its god was then officially called "Amon of Gem-Aton." Nearly a thousand years after its foundation by Ikhnaton, Amon, the god whom he so hated, was still worshiped there under the same name. From that time on we know nothing of the city or temple. When it fell into disuse after the christianization of the country, the temple became a quarry for the neighboring kinglet. This continued until all its walls had been removed and its columns one by one disappeared, leaving at last only four. The site remained encumbered with the chips of sandstone, left by breaking up the blocks for easier transportation from the spot (see Fig. 33). Some time since the forties of last century one of the four columns fell, and was carried away in fragments as building stone. Thus the only surviving temple of Ikhnaton has been reduced to three columns, and their battered and weathered records are all that we possess to give us a hint of the unique origin of the place. What secrets of the world's first monotheist still lie hidden there, remain for the spade of the future excavator, who may penetrate into this inaccessible region.

X. TEMPLE OF SOLEB

We finished work at the Gem-Aton temple on January 22, and proceeding a few miles the next day, were held by the furious wind for five days at Gurgot a few miles below Dulgo. When set to tracking, the sailors found it impossible to move the boats, so strong was the gale. I sent a request to the mamûr at Dulgo for more hands at the ropes and he secured nine men for us, but even with these we soon ran into a projecting promontory of rock, around which we could not move, as there was no footing for the men on the other side. The gale quickened into a furious tempest burying us in vast clouds of flying dust and sand. Even in the cabin it fell on one's papers in appreciable thickness, like snow, within an hour. In two hours everything in our cabin was deluged as if by ashes from Vesuvius. There was a pungent odor of dust in the air, it grated between one's teeth, one's ears were full, one's eye-brows and lashes were laden like the dusty miller, it sifted into all boxes and cupboards, photographs and papers, till each leaf was separated from the next by a layer of grit, and it settled on the chemical trays in the dark-room in such quantities that it destroyed disquieting amounts of our precious supplies and sadly injured the plates. At night it was bitter cold; the temperature dropped to 40° (Fahr.) above every morning before daylight, and there was a peculiarly chilling quality in the atmosphere. Our great desire was to reach the temple of Soleb thirty miles away, but even had we been able to secure camels, it would have been impossible to travel in such a gale. By the twenty-sixth of January the wind had been blowing for sixteen days with but one day's moderation, and for eleven days it had raged night and day without a moment's cessation. On the morning of the twenty-seventh, however, we cast off at 4 A. M. with prospects of favorable weather, and having made half the distance to Soleb that day, we pushed on the next morning (twenty-eighth) and reached Soleb on the afternoon of that day.

We were favored with good weather for a few days in the beginning of our work at Soleb, but during the remainder of the ten days we spent there, a heavy wind made photographing on a scaffold excessively difficult, and work of any kind a burden. It

may be said that epigraphic work of any kind is next to impossible during three days out of five at this season of the year in Nubia. The temple of Soleb, erected by Amenhotep III, is the most important monument in the Sudan, and one of the two greatest architectural works surviving in the Nile valley, the other being the temple of Luxor. Of the magnificent temples erected by the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty all have perished save Luxor and Soleb, and we have in Soleb, therefore, one of the finest creations of the Empire. In his great building inscription at Thebes it is thus described by Amenhotep III:

> I built for thee thy house of millions of years in the precinct of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes (named) "Khammat" (name of the Soleb temple), august in electrum, a resting-place for my father (Amon) at all his feasts. It is finished with fine white sandstone; it is wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver; all its portals are of gold. Two great obelisks are erected one on each side. When my father rises between them I am among his following.[27]

The place thus bore the name "Khammat" (Ḫ'-m-m''t = "Shining [or Crowned] with Truth"). It was dedicated to two gods: (1) to Amenhotep III himself under the name: "His Living Image on Earth, Nibmare (Amenhotep III), Lord of Nubia, Great God, Lord of Heaven;" and (2) to Amon. Approaching the temple (Fig. 1) we could find no trace of the two obelisks erected by the king before it. The building is accurately oriented to face the east. It is preceded by a large forecourt bounded in front by a light wall (possibly a pylon), now down and probably not high when perfect. It bears no inscriptions. An avenue of rams in the axis of the building led through this forecourt to the pylon. With one exception the rams have now all disappeared. These are the rams removed by the Nubians to Gebel Barkal, of which one was taken thence to Berlin by Lepsius. The pylon was much wider than the temple behind it. It offers a remarkable architectural feature which deserves further investigation: it was preceded by a large vestibule hall, the side walls of which abutted directly on the middle of the front face of each pylon tower. The north pylon tower is still sufficiently preserved to show the vertical

[27] *Ancient Records*, II. 890.

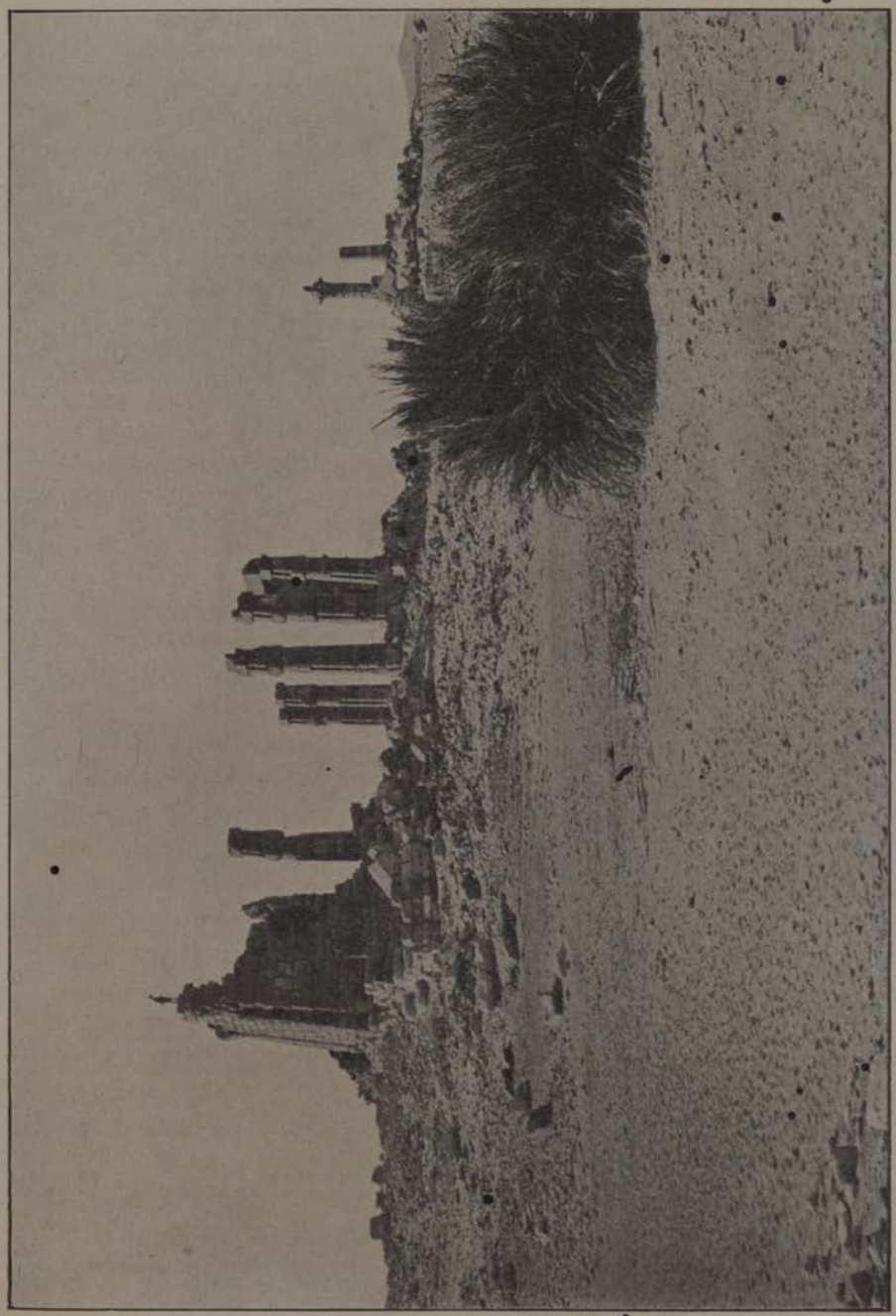


FIG. 49.—General View of Soleb Temple from the North.

line on its east front, where the north side-wall of the vestibule hall impinged on the face of the pylon, extending upward to the cornice of the pylon. At the rear of this imposing hall, immediately in front of the pylon door, are now the bases of two enormous columns, one on each side of the axis, each over seven feet in diameter at the base, while the bases themselves are over twelve and a half feet in diameter. Lepsius still saw eight of these bases in two rows of four each, on each side of the axis and parallel with it.[28] Viewed from the entrance, this hall must have been one of the most imposing examples of columned architecture ever conceived in the Nile valley. It is greatly to be regretted that this unique hall has disappeared down to the bases of the columns and walls. It is deeply encumbered with rubbish, but it would amply repay clearance. Behind the pylon the arrangement of the temple is an extension of the usual plan: a large peristyle court of thirty columns, with a double row of columns at the rear and a single row elsewhere, followed by a second similar court of thirty-two columns, and two successive hypostyle halls, with the columned naos itself behind all this. The entire structure including the large forecourt was some six hundred feet long, and Lepsius' draughtsmen saw the bases of one hundred and forty columns. Everywhere in design and execution the building betrays the fine lines and the exquisite proportions of the very best work of the Eighteenth Dynasty architects, who brought Egyptian architecture to its highest level of attainment. It is greatly to be regretted that the superb building lies in a region so remote and inaccessible, and that it has already suffered such sad ruin that it is doomed to complete destruction unless works of sane restoration, or rather of preservation, can soon be undertaken. In Egypt such a building would form a center from which to proceed in the study of Egyptian columned architecture, and a structure to be as sacredly visited and studied by students and travelers as the Parthenon at Athens.

Passing from front to rear (Fig. 49) we meet four series of important documents:

[28] There may be some question whether Lepsius actually saw the outermost two pairs, or whether he has restored them in his plan (*LD*, I, 117).

1. Face of pylon (reliefs of Amenhotep IV).

2. Back of pylon (Heb-sed reliefs).

3. North side of door between the two peristyle courts (Heb-sed reliefs).

4. Columns in rear chambers (foreign captive lists).

No study of these important documents has been made since Lepsius visited it sixty-three years ago, though an account of some of them only as published by Lepsius is given by Budge, who visited the place in 1905. He says: "Of the reliefs with which it was decorated we can get a good idea from the drawings published by Lepsius." Budge seems, however, to have made an independent examination of the front of the standing section of the pylon (called by him "second pylon"), from which Lepsius published nothing; for Budge says: "The face of the second pylon was sculptured with large figures of the king [Amenhotep III], who was represented in the act of slaying his enemies" (*Sudan*, I, 612). What this face of the pylon really does contain is of great importance and interest, for the reason that, having been *left bare by Amenhotep III*, his son, the religious revolutionary Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV), whose city we found at Sesebi, filled it with his own reliefs. They form the only extensive series of temple reliefs surviving from the reign of Ikhnaton. In the hollow cornice over the pylon door, in such delicate and flat relief that it is faintly visible only in oblique light for a little while before midday, is a pair of huge cartouches containing the double name, Neferkheprure-Wanre-Ikhnaton. There are in all six relief scenes of Ikhnaton still discernible on the portion of the pylon preserved (only the south half of the northern tower), of which the following five are intelligible:

1. King Ikhnaton stands at the left, while Horus or Re at the right before him are placing a crown upon his head.

2. King Ikhnaton kneels in the middle, while Atum and Re enthroned at the left and right place a crown upon his head.

3. Ikhnaton standing at the right receives the sign of life from his father Amenhotep III as a god at the left.

4. Ikhnaton standing on the right burns incense and pours libation to his father as god at the left.

5. Ikhnaton standing at the right worships Amon standing on the left.

In scenes 3 to 5 the vulture-goddess Buto hovers over the king at the right. These reliefs of Ikhnaton are of especial interest because they date from the earliest years of his reign, from which heretofore we have possessed only the building inscription at Silsileh, and a few small fragments at Karnak. These new Soleb reliefs, therefore, exhibit a number of facts of interest in the course of Ikhnaton's revolution. Three stages in their history are traceable:

I. These reliefs were executed by Ikhnaton's sculptors before his antipathy for Amon had begun; he is, therefore, represented as worshiping both Amon and his own father.

II. Some time before his sixth year,[29] the feud with Amon and the other gods having broken out, the name and the figure of Amon, here in his own reliefs and also throughout this temple, were expunged.[30] But here a remarkable fact arises: the figure of Ikhnaton's father as god of the temple of Soleb, was respected, even though the king Ikhnaton himself was represented as performing the temple ritual to him as god.[31] There is not space here to speculate at length on this new fact. We could conceive that Ikhnaton might respect his father's figure without adopting or continuing his father's cult; or if that cult was continued, it is worth while to raise the question, whether the Aton-faith did not continue the solar Heliopolitan theology, in which the king was an incarnation of the sun-god and his visible representative on earth. In continuing his cult it is conceivable that Ikhnaton's theory simply regarded him as identical with the sun-god. It should be noted: first, that as a god Amenhotep III wears on his head a *sun-disk* surmounting a crescent; second, that the cultus-name of Amenhotep III as god in the Soleb temple reads: "His (the sun-god's) Living Image on Earth, Nibmare, Lord of Nubia Great God, Lord of Heaven." The "Lord of Heaven" is of course

[29] Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. 38, pp. 91 f.; and my *Ancient Records*, II, § 932.

[30] The expungement of Amon from the reliefs of Amenhotep III here was already known especially from the rams and lions. See *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 893 ff.

[31] We can now understand the fact that likewise on the rams and lions the cultus-name of Amenhotep III was spared, and also in the Silsileh relief of Bek. See *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 893–98, 973.

a sun-god, while "His Living Image on Earth" means the image of the sun-god, and I cannot but believe, therefore, that Ikhnaton was but continuing the cult of the sun-god in continuing that of his father; just as he continued that of Re, of Horus, and of Atum, all sun-gods. To him these latter were identical and did not disturb his monotheistic theology. In the same way we must regard the cult of his father.

III. The final stage of history discernible on this wall and elsewhere in the temple, is that which followed the fall of Ikhnaton, when his figure and name were expunged in turn, while those of Amon and the name of Amenhotep III were everywhere restored, the latter often wrongly as Nibmare, where we should have Amenhotep. This restoration was also known to us from the lions and rams of Soleb long since brought to Europe from Gebel Barkal.

Passing from the front face to the rear face of this northern pylon tower, a not less interesting series of reliefs, from which Lepsius extracted a few isolated scenes,[32] is revealed to us. The importance of these scenes lies in their connection, not discernible in the four published by Lepsius, where indeed the most important detail on the walls was omitted, as we shall see. These scenes depict the ceremonies of the royal jubilee known as the Heb-sed (Ḥb-šd) in two series, which we may designate as: first, the Throne Ceremonies; and second, the Ceremony of Striking the City Gates. In the first, the throne (tnt't) is the object of successive ceremonies at the hands of the king and queen, Amenhotep III and Tiy, and the important state officials—each ceremony being called by a special title like "Illumination of the Throne." The ceremonies took place on different days and two at least were "on the morning of the Heb-sed." In one of them the throne was anointed, and we see before it a cabinet containing the ointment which is designated "hall of secret ointment brought before the throne." These throne ceremonies form a series of reliefs in a single bottom row along the lower portion of the wall for perhaps two meters from the pavement. Above this row is the second, larger series, the Ceremony of Striking the City Gates, which occupied all the space to the top of the wall. The two extracts

[32] *Denkmäler*, III, 83 *b*, *c*, 84 *a*, *b*

given by Lepsius, show what has often been recognized as ceremonies in which the king strikes a door with his mace (Fig. 50), but the door has been supposed to be that of the temple of Soleb at its dedication. As a matter of fact the entire large rectangle containing the reliefs (not included in Lepsius' drawings), has the usual form of a crenelated city wall; the doors in question, struck by the king, are the gates of the city, and at each such gate the entrance is protected by a projecting battlemented tower, the wall of which curtains the inner doorway (Fig. 51). The king thus passes from gate to gate of the city, striking the doorpost with his mace and saying: "I have smitten thy door-post, I have struck thee, I have forced (?) thee."

In this ceremony he is accompanied, among others, by a youth who is called "the hereditary prince, the sole companion, Amenhotep," who can be none other than the crown prince Amenhotep, he who became the fourth of the name and afterward Ikhnaton. In addition to the fact that the king here uses the prehistoric form of mace, which is sufficient evidence that we are here dealing with an archaic ceremony, the formula which he pronounces at each gate, twice contains the archaic absolute pronoun of the second masculine singular, kw, found only in the hoary pyramid texts. It is evident, therefore, that we are here dealing with a royal installation ceremony which arose in the remotest antiquity of the Egyptian kingdom. To anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the earliest inscribed monuments of Egypt, it is not far to search what feast or ceremony we are here dealing with. It is the "Feast of Going around the Wall" or the "Circuit of the Wall," already mentioned in the annals of the First Dynasty.[33] There is not space here for discussion of its significance, but it would seem to be evident that it grew out of some historical occurrence, possibly the capture of the capital of Lower Egypt by the king of Upper Egypt at the absorption of the Delta by Upper Egypt in prehistoric days. His knocking at the gates of the northern capital demanding its surrender, might easily become a part of the ceremonies by which the later kings of the united kingdom each celebrated his assumption of power over Upper and

[33] Palermo Stone, Front, l. 2, year 1.

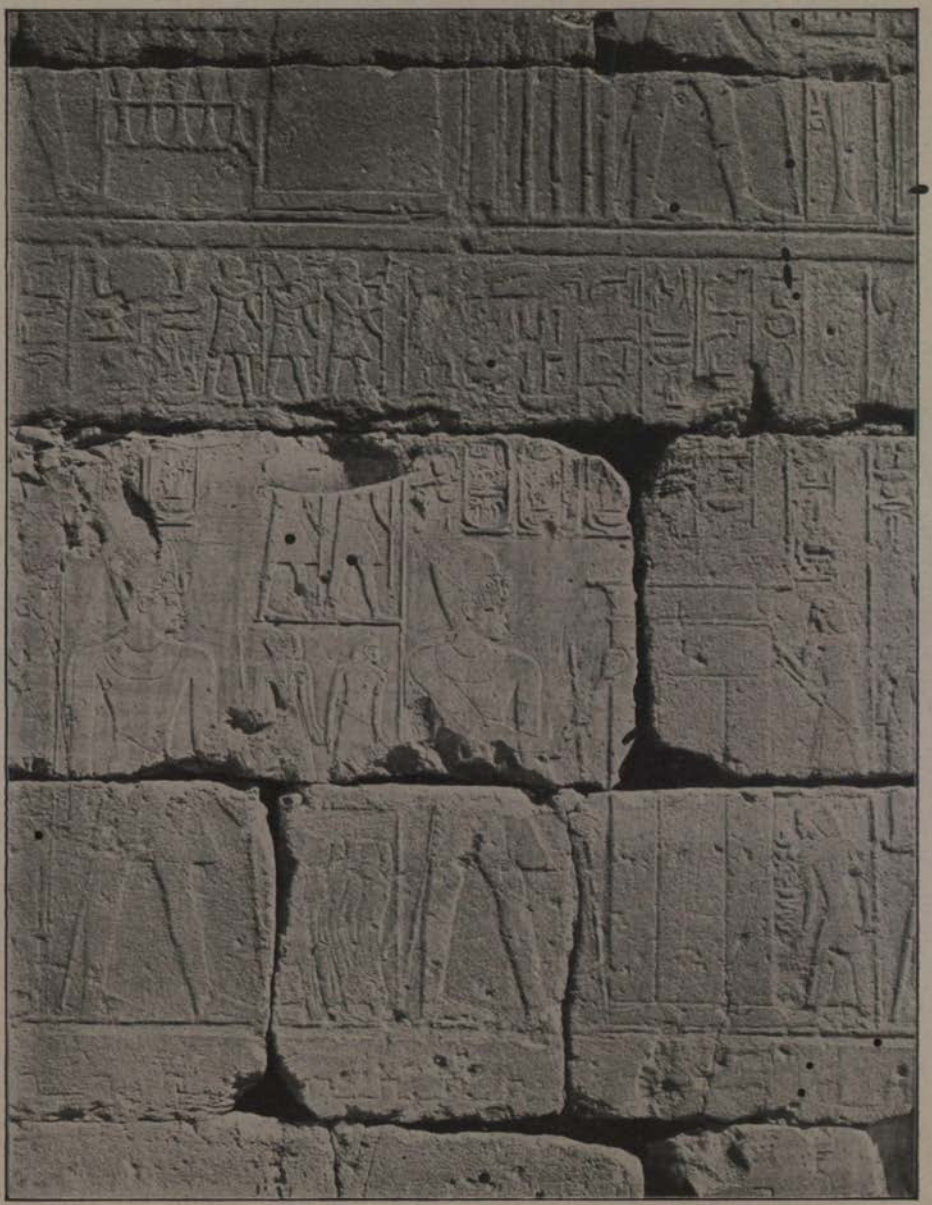


FIG. 50.—Striking the Twelfth City Gate in the Royal Jubilee Reliefs at Soleb. Note city wall and gate at lower edge. Compare Fig. 51.

Lower Egypt now united. Leaving such conjectures, it would be interesting to determine how many gates the city possessed and what city is meant. Unfortunately, as a glance at Fig. 51 will disclose, only two sides are preserved and one of these is incomplete. A reconstruction with the full number of gates on each side is therefore impossible. It is probable that the right side is complete, but the numbers on the original are illegible and uncertain. Assuming that the numbering began at the lower left-hand corner of the city, there were twelve gates above and below, and probably three gates at each end, making thirty gates in all. Assuming that the numbering began at the upper left-hand corner, there were nine gates above and below, and three at each end, or twenty-four in all. Thus far I can discover nothing in the reliefs or inscriptions to determine what city is meant, but it was presumably Memphis, for reasons which space will not permit reciting here.

The only piece of inscribed wall still standing in the temple of Soleb besides the two sides of the section of the pylon, with which we have been dealing, is the north side of the deep doorway (Fig. 49, Door IV), from the first into the second peristyle court. On the north face of this section of wall is a series of reliefs of prime importance in eight horizontal rows, rising one above the other from the floor to the ceiling of the lofty colonnade. We had some difficulty in making the upper rows accessible, owing to their height and the fact that we had been unable to carry our tallest ladders into this inaccessible wilderness. However, I succeeded in borrowing four tall palm trunks forming the roofing timbers of a native's house, who obligingly consented to dispense with the roof of his dwelling for a week, and with these as uprights at the four corners we succeeded in building a scaffolding (Fig. 52), for the floor of which we had only the two gang-planks from the nuggers. One of these was badly fractured in the middle, making the question of its ability to sustain us a piquant element in our long-continued efforts to secure a complete record of this wall. During our entire work upon it, facing the north as it did, we were exposed to a violent north wind which arose soon after our arrival, and at times threatened to

shake down the scaffold. The manipulation of squeeze paper was an impossibility. The operation of a large camera on two crazy planks at an uncomfortable elevation is not easy; when the wind, however, threatens to carry away the instrument every moment, and the wall, always in the shadow and never receiving any sun, must be illuminated with a reflector held by some one standing on the scaffold, the work of securing even poor negatives is slow and painful. We hope, however, that with the negatives

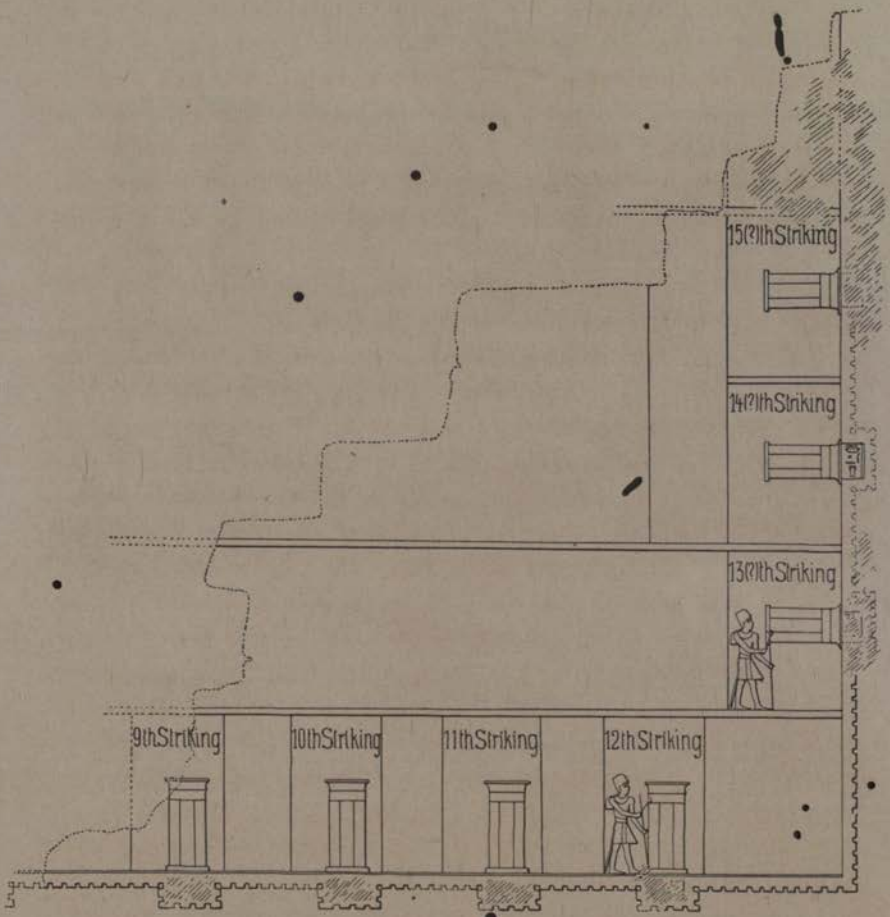


FIG. 51.—Plan of the "Strikings" of the City Gates at the Celebration of the Royal Jubilee as Preserved on the Pylon at Soleb. The royal figure is above inserted only twice; it is to be supplied at each of the gates.

(thirty-two in number) and our hand copies made from the wall, that we have secured about all that it offers.

Two of the eight rows on this wall were copied and published by Lepsius,[34] but the subject of the series is not discernible in the publication. At the right-hand end of the lower row, in a scene[35] now almost invisible, the king may be discerned as he is

FIG. 52.—Photographing the Reliefs of the Royal Jubilee on Door IV at Soleb.

borne from the palace in a palanquin on the shoulders of his bearers; before him is a retrograde inscription in six vertical lines. The first of these (apparently the last) on long and close inspection certainly begins with the date, which is given as follows: "Year 30, second[36] month of the third season (Šmw), first day." This is of course the date of the Heb-sed, the thirty years' jubilee, and to make matters certain, the fourth line begins, "He (Amon) appoints the first Heb-sed for his son, who rests

[34] *Denkmäler*, III, 85, 86.

[35] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 85*b*.

[36] The conventional or mythological date of the beginning of the Ḥb-sd is of course the first month of Prt, that is Tybi; but its actual date varies.

upon his throne." This establishes for the first time the date of Amenhotep III's first jubilee,[37] and we thus have in these eight rows invaluable new material for further study of this remarkable feast. The general arrangement of each of the seven rows above the first is as follows:

First, at the left end is the door of the palace (ḥ), which the king and queen approach from the right in order to "rest in the palace."

Second, farther to the right an elaborate procession with Upwawet mounted on a very tall pole surmounting a shrinelike base borne on poles on the shoulders of priests. The king and grandees accompany it.

Third, farther to the right, a shrine containing a Khnum, "presider over the chapel of Wnm-ḫrp (or sḫm), before which the king worships."

Fourth, at the right end various ceremonies, especially the presentation of grain to the king and by him to the god Khnum.

Divergencies from this scheme occur in some cases. The beginning of each row, like the lowermost, is at the right, and when the ceremony depicted in the row is finished, the king enters the palace at the left end of each row. It is possible that each row depicts the ceremonies of a single day. In view of this Heb-sed series at the back of this peristyle court and the other Heb-sed series at the front of the same court (on the back of the pylon), it becomes evident that this court, and perhaps the whole temple, was built to celebrate the king's first Heb-sed jubilee, of which we also hear of the celebration at Thebes. Being built so late in the king's reign, we can now understand why the pylon reliefs on the front were unfinished at the king's death, leaving the face of the pylon to be filled with reliefs by the king's son Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV).

Not a single column of the second peristyle court is still standing (Fig. 49); the walls are also down, the blocks carried away, and even the pavement has been removed. The rear of the temple (Fig. 49), containing a superb palm column, is in somewhat better

[37] The *year* was already known from the tomb of Khamhet at Thebes; see my *Ancient Records*, II, 870 ff.

condition, but almost the only inscriptions there are the foreign captives sculptured on the columns with their names. All these we copied and the most important we photographed. They should furnish some useful ethnological types. At the rear of the temple on the north side is the temple well, solidly lined with masonry to the top. We cleared it to the water level, going down about twenty feet, but found only a few blocks from the temple which at some time had been thrown into it.

The remains of the ancient town are very scanty and limited. On the west is the ancient cemetery, the tombs being cut out of the desert gravel. On the northeast of the temple is a heavy masonry quay extending into the river, but it is uninscribed. Fragments of wall (?) are near it on the north. Three miles north of the Soleb temple is a promontory of sandstone (Fig. 53) projecting into the river on the west shore. It is known as Gebel Dosheh and contains a number of monuments. If it had been better preserved the most important of them would be a cliff-chapel of Thutmose III, now containing only traces of the conventional cultus reliefs, among them, of course, the worship of Sesostris III as god of Nubia. The face of the rocks bears numerous graffiti of officials who have passed here in the days of the Empire. The most important is a large stela of Amenemopet, viceroy of Nubia under Seti I. It contains a badly cut, but unusual prayer for his prosperity and success, in the course of which the boundaries of Seti I's empire are given as Khenthennofer on the south and Retenu on the north. The gods of this hill are the cataract gods so commonly found in Lower Nubia.

XI. SOLEB TO AMÂRA

By February 9 we had finished our record of the monuments at or near Soleb, and leaving Gebel Dosheh, we reached Sedëinga the same day. It is about thirteen miles from Soleb. This temple built by Amenhotep III for the worship of his queen Tiy as goddess of Nubia, as the fast vanishing dedication on the sole surviving column shows, is in a sad state of ruin (Fig. 54). The only records which it contains are fragmentary reliefs depicting the usual cultus ceremonies. One new datum, however, was discovered,

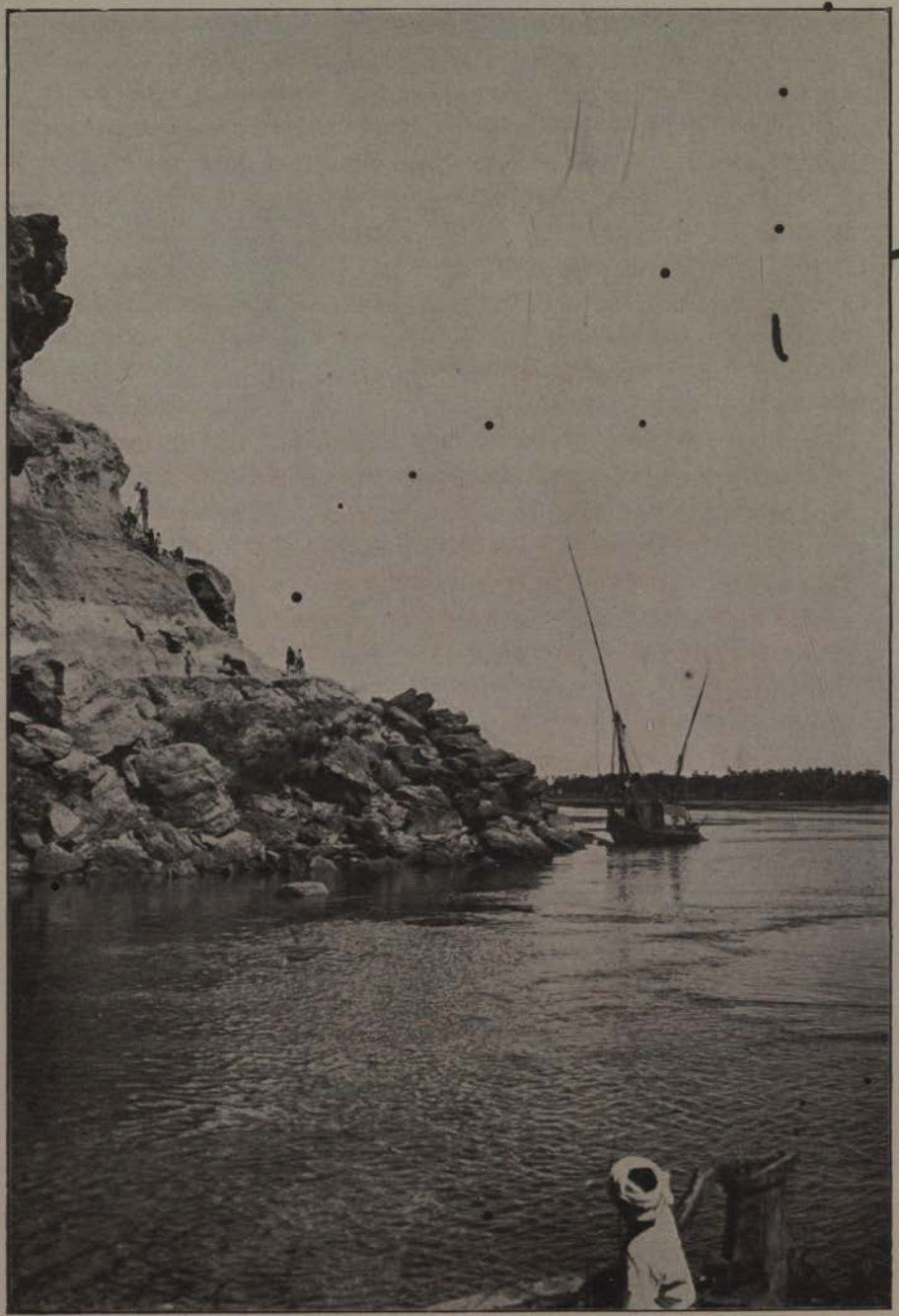


FIG. 53.—Gebel Dosheh. Photographing the stela of the Viceroy Amenemopet. Our smaller gyassa moored below.

namely, the official name of the place, "Fortress of Tiy," which was noticed by Davies on a badly weathered, half-overturned block. The fallen superstructure so encumbers the place with heavy blocks that it is now impossible to discern the ground-plan of the building without clearance, which we did not undertake.

Passing the large Island of Sai on February 10, we reached its north end, twenty-six miles from Soleb, in the evening of the same day. Here on the east side of the island, crowning the heights overlooking the river is a considerable fortress of some Nubian melek of the last century or two. But there is every evidence that it occupies the site of an ancient Pharaonic fortress of the empire. Within are massive fragments of Pharaonic buildings, columns, door-posts, architraves, and the like, overturned and scattered in the greatest confusion, having evidently been reused by the later Nubians. On the north of the fortress, that is, outside of it, the ground-plan of a small temple can be traced. Whether these fragments were carried in from this temple, or belong to another within the fortress only excavation would determine. A stela of granite nearly four feet high lies among other fragments in the fortress, but as the inscribed face had been used as a millstone the inscription has practically disappeared. It was probably a record of Ramses II, and the date the "year 2." The building was, however, older than this, and we were fortunately able to determine the name of the builder. By digging under one edge we were able to turn over a large door-post weighing several tons, and the side thus exposed was found to contain the fragmentary building inscription of Thutmose III's great viceroy of Nubia, Nehi. In his king's twenty-fifth year Nehi erected the temple here of sandstone, to replace one of brick. He calls this region Š''t, confirming the building inscription of Thutmose III at Semneh, which states that he built the Semneh temple of stone of Š''t.[38] Nehi, therefore, was the first great builder in these upper regions, having also built the temple of Semneh. Another fragment contained the titles of Setau, viceroy of Nubia under Ramses II, among which he is called "governor of the gold country of Amon," thus corroborating our conclusion of last year that there was a

[38] *Ancient Records*, I, 510.

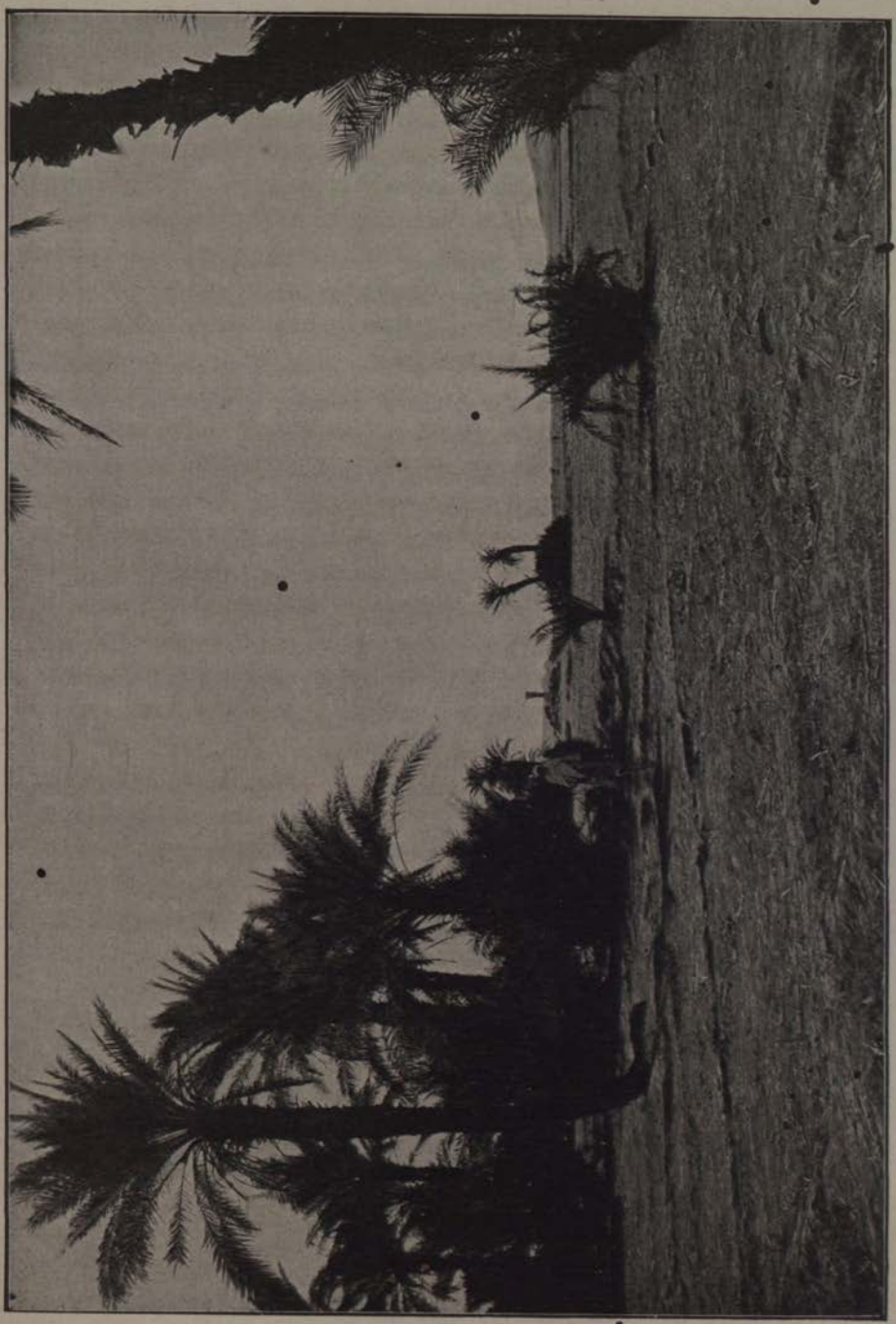


FIG. 54.—The Temple of Queen Tiy at Sedēinga. Seen through the palms of the village.

Nubian gold country of Amon at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.[39] A small piece of sandstone bears the title, "Overseer of the prophets of all the gods, deputy of Kush," which looks very much as if the local priesthoods of Nubia under the Empire were incorporated in one general sacerdotal organization under one head. The oldest document on Sai is to be found on a huge piece of the cliff which had fallen out of the east face of the rocks north of the fortress, and now lies close to the river on the east shore of the island. Having turned over in its fall the inscription is now upside down. It is so badly weathered that it was some time before I discovered that it is upside down, not at first thinking that so large a rock (thirty feet square and fifteen or twenty feet high) could have turned over since the making of such an inscription. However, I at last made out, "Year 2 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I)." It was therefore placed here by Thutmose I on the march for his Dongola campaign. A second line is so weathered that I gave it over. Two miles north of the fortress are four columns of a Christian church.

After being delayed a day by a violent northern gale, we crossed with the two nuggers to the east shore and spent the twelfth of February in preparing to leave the boats and transfer to the caravan for the journey through the Batn el-Ḥagar, now totally impassable to such boats as ours. But as the wind dropped on the thirteenth we floated on, reaching Amâra, the limit of navigation at this season, on the same afternoon. By the kindness of Captain Morant, governor of the Halfa Province we had found camels waiting for us, and they had been following us along shore ever since we left Soleb. By the next day at noon we had, with much regret, unloaded all our supplies and equipment from the two boats in which we had lived for two months and a half, and we saw them sail away southward to return to the government service at Kareima, where they belonged. We kept our felucca, in which we had descended from Abu Hamed through the fourth cataract, for use in exploring the hundred and twenty-five miles of river still separating us from the beginning of our last year's work.

[39] See last year's report (*AJSL*, XXIII, p. 20).

Crossing in the felucca to the other (west) side we examined the ruins of a temple of Ramses II, a considerable building. The walls are encumbered to the tops of the doorways, and the place would greatly repay excavation. As informed by Mr. Crowfoot, we found at the rear of the temple a stela of Ramses II. We found it covered with sand, which we removed, and replaced again on the completion of our records. This monument was also excavated by Budge in 1905. He describes it as follows:

> We found that the stela of Ramses II had at some time or other been broken to pieces, which had been roughly stuck together with mud and plaster, and that the monument had been re-erected and was held in position by a thick mud wall built up behind it. The inscription so far as I could see it, gave no new facts, and as the stela was made of very soft stone, we decided to cover it again, and leave it there until men could go with a wooden frame and cement, and remove it carefully.

This inscription has never "been broken to pieces" nor "stuck together" again. As anyone familiar with the monuments of Ramses II would see at a glance, this inscription is cut on the courses of a masonry wall, like the Ptah-stela of the same king at Abu Simbel or his treaty of peace at Karnak. The stela thus consists of a panel of masonry, in this case in its original position as part of the outside of the rear wall. It is 1.645 meters wide, and is preserved for a meter and a half from the ground. The mortar has fallen from the joints of the masonry producing troublesome lacunae. Of the first ten lines only the right-hand ends are preserved; otherwise the remaining eleven lines (twenty-one lines in all) are fairly well preserved. They record the building of a temple in Memphis by Ramses II in celebration of his Heb-sed jubilee, Ptah of Memphis being the patron god of the jubilee. As neither the buildings of Ramses II at Memphis, nor his building inscriptions there, are preserved, the monument is of importance. We photographed it in sections and made exhaustively collated hand copies. When the proposed removal takes place, much of the inscribed surface will inevitably be lost, and it would seem that such a record as we took the time to make will then be the only source for a knowledge of the document as found. Owing to a misunderstanding of the local geography,

we failed to visit and inspect the six columns still standing in the small late Nubian temple on the east shore at Amâra.

XII. SECOND CATARACT REGION, KUMMEH AND SEMNEH

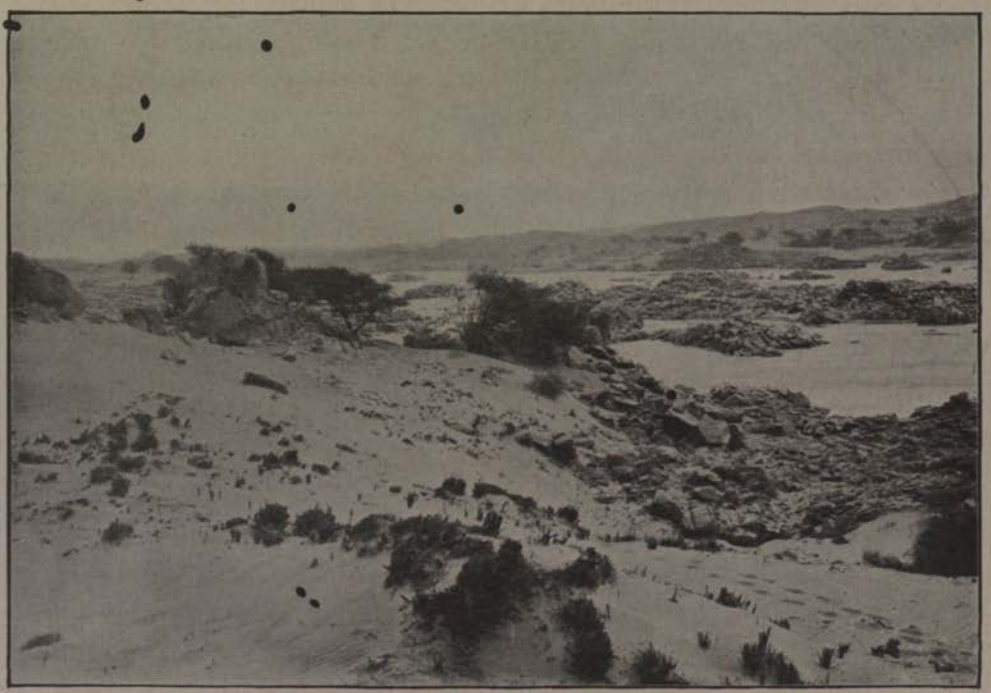
On the fifteenth of February, having transferred to the caravan, numbering thirty-three camels in all, we rode along the east shore past the Amâra rapids and reached Kosha in the evening. The railway once connecting Halfa and Kosha has now been discontinued; it would, however, have been of little use to us as we wished to scrutinize the rocks of the Batn el-Ḥagar for inscriptions. At Kosha I had great difficulty in finding a competent cataract reis to take our heavy felucca down the dangerous rapids between there and Halfa. After a pleasant night in the government rest-house at Kosha, it was nearly noon (February 16) before we could gain information of a suitable reis, whom we found later on the same day in a village a few miles farther north. The mamûr at Kosha was very helpful and took us down river to this village in his own boat while our caravan marched beside us. He left us at Sarkamatto, where we took possession of the village shekh's house, which he kindly placed at our disposal. Here on the shore was a very unusual spectacle for this region of the country. The hippopotamus has now disappeared for nearly a century from districts so far north as this, but here we found suspended from a tree the heads of two which had been shot but a few months before by a native of the village (see Fig. 55).

It was to the writer an experience of the greatest interest to enter this wild region of the second cataract, strategically so important in the history of the Nile valley, both ancient and modern. This barrier to any southern advance, where river and shore alike are so beset with vast and tumbled rocks that passage by either is almost equally difficult, has kept the frontier of civilization at a single point and barred its advance for four thousand years—that is longer than at any other ancient frontier in the world. There is not space here to attempt a description of this desolate but wildly beautiful region, through which the raging river forces its troubled passage. We very much regretted, that during our caravan journey and exploration of the region, the north wind was

FIG. 55.—Two Hippopotamus Heads Captured Recently by a Native at Sarkamatto in the Second Cataract Region.

so violent that the landscape was too obscured by flying sand to permit effective photographs to be made. Indeed, on the last day of the journey, our largest camera was overthrown and too seriously damaged by the wind to be used again.

Leaving Sarkamatto on the morning of February 17, we reached Okma the same night, the felucca having kept pace with



56.—View down the Tangûr Cataract in a Sandstorm. Inscriptions of Thutmose I, Thutmose III and Hatshepsut on rocks at left.

us all day. By the afternoon of the eighteenth we had reached the Tangûr rapid (Fig. 56), at the head of which are some interesting graffiti. One on the west side reads: "Year two under the majesty of Thutmose I, who is given life. His majesty passed up stream to overthrow the wretched Kush. When the military scribe Ahmose was counting the ships." Here is a vivid reminiscence of Thutmose I's great invasion of Nubia, when sitting on the shore at the head of the Tangûr cataract, the scribe in charge of the tally counts the ships of the Pharaoh's armada, as they are painfully drawn up through the gate of rocks at the head of the

rapid. In the intervals of his tally, the scribe thus immortalized himself on the huge boulder at his elbow. We were unable to find the inscription of the same year of Thutmose I, adding the day and month, which was long ago reported by a lay visitor,[40] and I am inclined to think that in this report there is some confusion with the inscription of the scribe Ahmose above. Near it is another dated on the tenth of the sixth month in the fifteenth year of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the queen being placed first. A number by various officials, undated, are on the rocks of the east side.

Having spent the night of the nineteenth at Ambugol, we reached Kummeh and Semneh, our only long stopping-place on the caravan journey, at dusk on the twentieth. Here at either end of a huge granite dam (Fig. 57) extending clear across the river, are the frontier fortresses of the Middle Kingdom, each containing a temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty; while the neighboring rocks abound in inscriptions. In the temple at Kummeh until shortly before our arrival the natives of the village had been living; but through the kind interposition of Mr. Crowfoot, they had been assisted to vacate the place so that we could begin work at once. We found this the most difficult site for work which we had yet met. The strong wind kept the unspeakably filthy dust of the village and the temple interior eddying through the roofless chambers of the building and constantly deluging both our notebooks and ourselves. As sheep, goats, and cattle had lodged in these chambers with their masters for generations, the evident character of this vile filth made work in the Kummeh temple almost intolerable. There was about a meter of rubbish in this temple, which had never been cleared out in modern times. We removed this and found in the court three graffiti of new viceroys of the Empire; two belonging to the same man. Both men's names, as so commonly with the viceroys of Nubia, have been expunged by enemies, but that of one is still discernible as Seni (Šny). In the court at the rear the excavation disclosed a sandstone stela bearing a prayer of Nehi, the great viceroy of Thutmose III. By the generosity of Sir Reginald Wingate, this

[40] *Ancient Records*, II, p. 28, n. *b*.

memorial of one of his earliest predecessors in the administration of Nubia, was presented to Haskell Oriental Museum.

On the third day after our arrival we were greatly relieved by the appearance of the felucca, which had come down the intervening rapids with great difficulty and some damage. Without it we should have been unable to cross to the western fort and temple of Semneh, where we now began our records on the twenty-fourth. At the same time work was begun on the numerous graffiti on the rocks east and northeast of the Kummeh fort. Here the officials and garrison of the fort in the days of Abraham, as they loafed beside the road to the fortress gate in the shade of the granite cliffs, have cut their names, titles, prayers to the local gods, and sometimes rude memoranda of the business or occasion which brought them thither. Over four score of these are scattered along this road. A more important series of graffiti here are the well-known Nile levels, records of the maximum height of the river during the inundation, cut in the rocks along the bases of the fortresses during the latter half of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasties. An examination of the neighboring rocks showed pot-holes worn by the high water on the southwest of Kummeh fort far higher than the modern maximum level. Later Davies noticed others at a still higher level in the valley east of the Kummeh fort. We carried the level of these highest pot-holes around to the front of the fortress where we found that the ancient marks were only 60 cm. above the level of the pot-holes. In the Twelfth Dynasty, therefore, the maximum inundation flowed behind (east of) Kummeh and made an island of the headland of rocks on which the Kummeh fort is situated. There can be no doubt that the ancient records mark the actual ancient level of the river, and not some point at a fixed arbitrary unit higher than the actual level of the water; even though the ancient maximum is twenty-five to thirty feet higher than that of today. Some great barrier below Kummeh and Semneh has since been removed by the river. Four thousand years is probably enough lapse of time to account for such a change.[41]

[41] It is conceivable that the present granite barrier at Kummeh and Semneh may have been enough larger in the Twelfth Dynasty to cause the ancient high level, but into such researches only a geological specialist can venture.

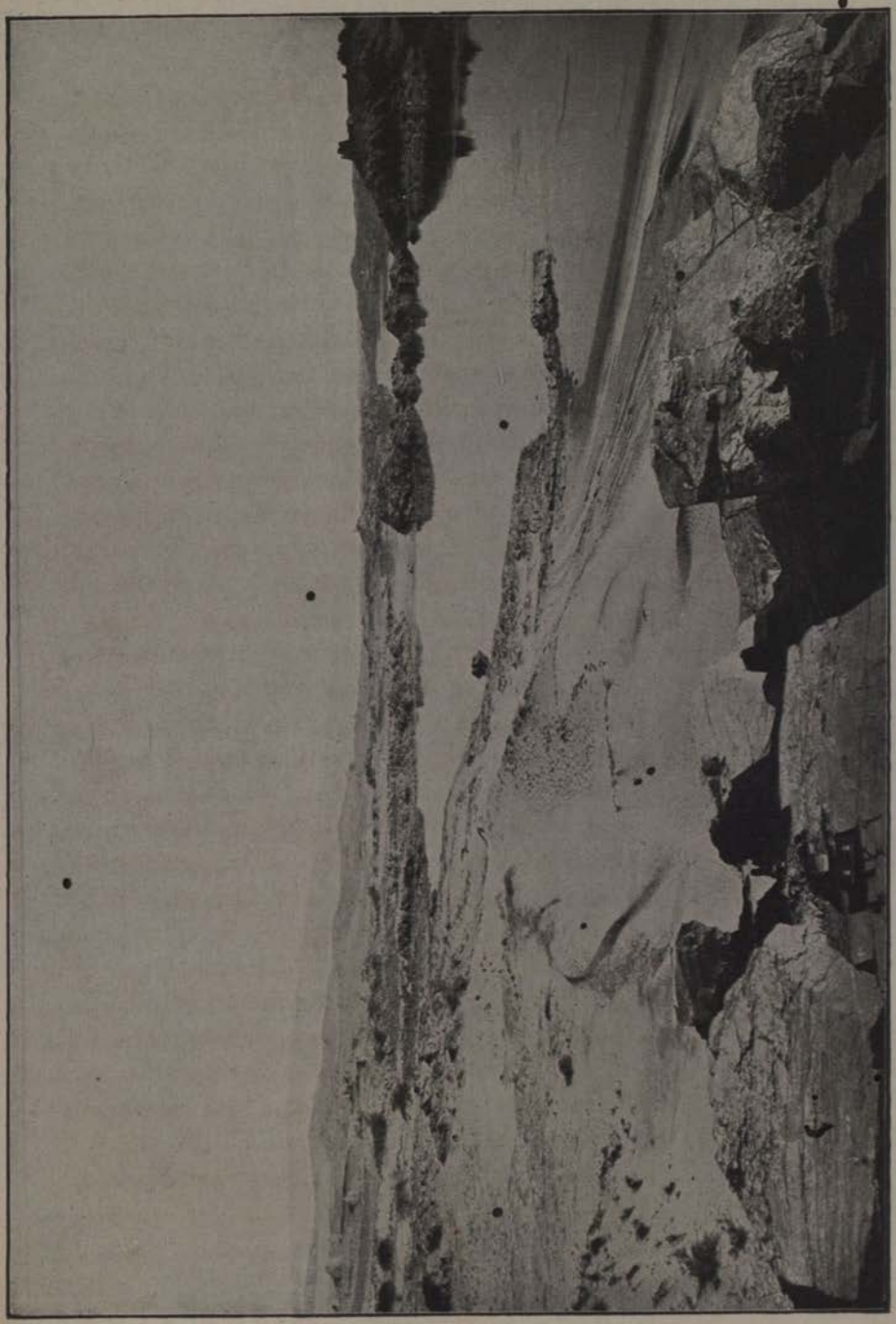


FIG. 57.—Natural Granite Dam at Kummeh and Semneh with the Fortresses at Either End. Looking down stream.

Among the graffiti on the west shore, I found one dated in the seventh year of Amenhotep I. This is the earliest date of the Empire in Nubia, and the southernmost record of this king. It was placed there by "the king's-son of the southern region, Thure," and is, therefore, the earliest viceroyal record in Nubia, though the title carried by Thure in this inscription does not entirely conform with that which he bore as viceroy under Thutmose I.[42] South of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple in the Semneh fortress is a brick temple, which was cleared out by Budge and Crowfoot. The sanctuary contains an altar of Taharka, and in its present form the building is probably of Ethiopian date; but I found in it a fragment of probably a Nineteenth Dynasty inscription mentioning the "countries of Retenu," and the temple is doubtless of older origin. It is worth remembering that Thutmose III affirms that he replaced a brick temple by one of stone here. In front of the altar-chamber is a large hall with fallen stone columns, and the front of the building would repay clearance, though the rubbish lies deep here.

The conclusion of our work on the graffiti was rendered so difficult by the wind, which whirled the sand into one's eyes till sight ceased, that we found it next to impossible to finish and finally did not spend as much time as we could have wished in collating and establishing finally the text of these difficult inscriptions. We spent nine days at Kummeh and Semneh, the other principal documents of which are well enough known not to require enumeration here. Leaving on the third of March we visited the fort of Uronarti, first reported by Steindorff and his party, and camped that night at Sarras. The felucca had great difficulty in passing the Kaginger rapid, where the rudder was smashed. When we reached camp at Gemai on the night of the fourth of March, the felucca failed to appear, and did not again overtake us. This was our last camp and an uneventful march brought us to Halfa, our starting-point of last year, just before dusk on the fifth of March. The next day there was fortunately a steamer going down, and the eighth of March found us again at Aswan, where we spent a fortnight in closing up the season's work, packing away equipment

[42] *Ancient Records*, II, §64.

and apparatus, in cataloguing the materials collected, while Davies drew a portion of the Heb-sed reliefs from Soleb.

The epigraphic survey completed by the expedition in the two seasons (1905–6 and 1906–7) extends from the southernmost monuments on the Nile northward to the Ptolemaic temples above the first cataract. In returning from this enterprise I cannot but briefly express the deep respect which during the progress of this work I learned to feel for our early predecessors in this field, particularly for Cailliaud and Lepsius. Under more difficult circumstances of travel, so far as reaching these remote regions was concerned, they brought back to the learned world the first adequate record of the numerous monuments scattered through twelve hundred miles of Nile valley above the first cataract. For the personal character and the ability for keen observation exhibited by the then youthful Lepsius, I have gained a profound admiration. It is very much to be doubted if so many-sided an observer, with interests so far-reaching, will ever visit that country again. Only one who has felt the unceasing pressure of the merely material problems involved in keeping an effective expedition in working order in such a country, can fully appreciate the mass of varied results brought back by Lepsius, from the materials for a Nuba grammar to a corpus of the royal names on the Nubian monuments, or a hundred other classes of data collected. The amount brought back by Cailliaud, too, collected almost single handed, was simply prodigious. If, as a result of our work we are ever able to publish a corpus of the written records of this far-off land, we shall be but building upon their foundations.

Finally, it was a source of the deepest gratification to one who knows what this long-suffering country of the Nubian Nile has passed through, to observe the just, humane, and practically effective system of government which it now enjoys. Under the stable conditions and the economic development thus ensured, a certain number of the younger natives are being yearly equipped at Gordon College in Khartûm with trained powers of hand and mind for carrying into its remotest districts an increased ability to further the universal work of regenerating the Sudan, which the British supremacy is steadily and unselfishly accomplishing there.

With this great and exacting responsibility resting upon him, and in view of the fact that the country is still unable to carry its own financial burden, it certainly would have been no matter of wonder, if Sir Reginald Wingate had found it impossible to devote any time or any funds to the preservation of the ancient monuments of the land. But these heavy responsibilities have not withheld him from a broad-minded interest in such remains. A museum collection has already been started in Khartûm, and a department of antiquities, under the able supervision of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, has been established with sufficient funds at least to maintain a watch upon all monuments, and here and there to undertake some works of preservation. When the rapidly improving yearly balance sheet in the Sudan no longer shows a deficit, the organization now effected will offer an excellent basis for extending its present good work, and, we hope, may permit such enterprises as the complete excavation and preservation of the temple of Soleb, and a wide-spread work of research throughout the land. For what has already been done, however, all archaeologists and friends of antiquity owe to Sir Reginald Wingate a great and lasting debt of gratitude.

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